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Inquiries concerning Natural Law

NOT only the pages of THEOLOGY, but the mounting pile of Christian manifestos, pronouncements, news-letters and booklets, which advert to the future ordering of society, contain with increasing frequency allusions to "natural law" or to "a natural order". What do these terms mean? I realized a year or two ago that I did not know and I set myself the task of trying to find out. I cannot pretend that my efforts have so far been very successful, but I have at least discovered some of the causes of the difficulty. The difficulty is not a new one. "This Term, the Law of Nature," wrote John Donne, "is so variously and unconstantly delivr'd, as I confess, I read it a hundred times before I understand it once, or can conclude it to signifie that which the Author should at that time mean."[1]

What surprises me is that writers and speakers to-day should somewhat precipitately have started to use the term again in quite a familiar way, as though there were one clear and authoritative doctrine which goes by that name, and which there is no need exactly to define. My own inquiries so far have very likely amounted to no more than a scratching of the surface of the subject, but a record of some provisional results may serve the purpose of prompting others to probe deeper.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (1908) contains this definition (*s.v. Divine law*): "The body of commandments which express the will of God with regard to the conduct of His intelligent creatures as implanted by nature in the human mind, or as capable of being demonstrated by reason." It says that the use of the term "the law of nature" in this sense had become rare, because of the frequency of its use in the scientific sense. In the latter sense a natural law is "a theoretical principle deduced

[1] *Biathanatos* (1700 ed.), p. 11. The difficulty was far from being new in the seventeenth century—*e.g.*, see the quotation from Azo, the twelfth-century jurist, about the many different meanings of *ius naturale* in Carlyle's *Mediæval Political Theory in the West*, ii, 103.

from particular facts, applicable to a defined group or class of phenomena, and expressible by the statement that a particular phenomenon always occurs if certain conditions be present". This sense is indeed sufficiently familiar; it is significant that the articles on natural law in both the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (1914) and the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th ed., 1929) deal only with this sense. I am not here concerned to inquire further into that, although of course it raises many interesting questions for the theologian, and the relation between it and the former or older meaning of the term calls for examination. It is with the meaning of the law of nature in the sense which had become rare, but which is now being revived, that I am here concerned.

The older usage has never been dropped by the Roman Catholic Church, and it appears to-day as a matter of course in papal encyclicals and in textbooks of moral theology;[1] but it is a mistake to suppose that the concept is peculiarly Roman Catholic or even peculiarly Catholic. Troeltsch makes some severe remarks on the notion that Luther and Calvin had no use or place for a doctrine of natural law.[2] As regards Anglicanism, the law of nature is referred to several times in the Homilies,[3] and is taken into account by our standard divines. For example, Hooker deals with it on lines similar to, though not identical with, those of St Thomas Aquinas. Jeremy Taylor also has much to say about it in *Ductor Dubitantium* (Part I, book 2). The concept was freely used, even if with varying connotations, by our theologians till about a hundred years ago, since when they seem to have made little, if anything, of it. It used to be discussed in Parliament. On June 20, 1849, Gladstone, in the course of a speech on a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, made this notable statement:

What was the law of nature? Would it be contended that the law of nature was a fixed and definite code, independent of

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[1] *E.g.*, Henry Davis, S.J., *Moral and Pastoral Theology* (1935), Treatise 3, chap. iii. See also articles in the *Catholic Encyclopædia* and the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*.

[2] *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (E.T. 1931), ii, 895 *f.* This work is indispensable for the study of the subject. For a comparison of the Lutheran, Calvinist and Catholic attitudes to natural law, see an article on "The Religious Origins of European Disunity", by Christopher Dawson, in the *Dublin Review* (October, 1940).

[3] See THEOLOGY (November, 1941), xliii, 292, n. 1.

the laws of religion? He would wish to know when the law of nature had been developed in that form. . . . How was the law of nature cherished and developed except by the law of religion? The law of nature depended on the law of Christianity. They could not keep the law of nature and get rid of the law of religion. It was Christianity which showed what were the demands, the capacities, the obligations of nature, and therefore the answer to the question, "What was the law of nature?" depended on the answer to the question, "What was the law of Christianity?" (Hansard, col. 631.)

It seems now to be generally agreed that the concept of natural law entered into the Christian tradition from Stoicism and was fused with ideas derived from the Bible. According to Cicero:

> True law is right reason in agreement with nature; it is of universal application, unchanging and everlasting; it summons to duty by its commands, and averts from wrongdoing by its prohibitions. . . . We cannot be freed from its obligations by senate or people, and we need not look outside ourselves for an expounder or interpreter of it. (*Republic*, III, 22, Eng. trans., C. W. Keyes.)

All men are equal in that they possess reason. In this, as in other ways, the Stoic doctrine is sharply distinguished from that of Aristotle, for whom the natural inequality of human nature is fundamental. Dr Carlyle goes so far as to say that "there is no change in political theory so startling in its completeness as the change from the theory of Aristotle to the later philosophical view represented by Cicero and Seneca".[1] In its developed form the Stoic theory drew a distinction between the (absolute) law of nature which applied to mankind in its primitive state of innocence and the (relative) law of nature or *ius gentium* which applies to mankind as corrupted by vice. The institutions of society, such as coercive government, private property and slavery, were not natural (in the former sense) but conventional.

This doctrine easily[2] lent itself to combination with the biblical teaching about man's primitive innocence, his fall, and the giving of the Mosaic law. Nor did the Fathers

[1] *Op. cit.*, 1, 8.

[2] Too easily, indeed, since the consequence was that Christian thinkers were not impelled to open up the different presuppositions *au fond*.

fail to note that St Paul refers to the law of nature in Rom. ii, 14 *f.*[1] Dr Carlyle says:

> There seems to be no division of opinion among the Fathers upon the subject. Practically, they carry on the same conceptions as those of Cicero and the later philosophers, and while they bring these into connexion with the suggestion of St Paul, they cannot be said either to modify these inherited conceptions or to carry them any farther. (*Op. cit.*, i, 106.)

The Mosaic law was held to be a positive enunciation or written promulgation on tables of stone of that unwritten law which could be discerned written on the tables of man's heart, though more or less dimly owing to the Fall. This continued to be the view held in the Middle Ages and afterwards. Thus St Thomas Aquinas says: "The Old (*i.e.*, the Mosaic) Law showed forth the precepts of the natural law, and added certain precepts of its own" (*S.T.*, II, i, Q. 98, A. 5). And Jeremy Taylor:

> The law of nature is nothing but the law of God given to mankind for the conservation of his nature and the promotion of his perfective end: a law of which a man sees a reason and feels a necessity. God is the lawgiver, practical reason or conscience is the record, but revelation and express declaring of it was the first publication and emission of it, and till then it had not all the solemnities of law, though it was passed in the court, and decreed and recorded. (*Op. cit.*, II, i, 37.)

In spite of St Thomas's recovery of the Aristotelian doctrine that man is by nature a political animal, the Stoic-Patristic doctrine that coercive government is a consequence of, and remedy for, the Fall, and therefore conventional rather than natural, still prevailed, and is for instance reproduced by Hooker, who says that there is

> no impossibility in nature considered by itself, but that men might have lived without any public regiment. Howbeit, the corruption of our nature being presupposed, we may not deny but that the law of nature doth now require of necessity some kind of public regiment. (*Eccl. Pol.*, I, x, 5.)[2]

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[1] The passage in 1 Corinthians (xi, 14 *f.*), in which St Paul also appeals to the law of nature, is less often noticed. Do present-day upholders of the appeal to natural law regard Eton crops and bobbed hair as falling under its condemnation?

[2] Cp. the First Part of "An Homily against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion".

Gladstone, in *The State in its Relations with the Church*, has an interesting passage, which maintains a similar doctrine:

While it pleased the mercy of God to design a provision for the redemption of mankind by His Son, to be accomplished when the fulness of the time should have come; so He likewise ordained certain conditions of the human existence, which, as intermediate expedients, and instruments of a secondary discipline, should both check the progress of selfishness, so far, at least, as to prevent the disease from arriving at its crisis, by establishing a counteracting principle, and should likewise prepare men to recognize the higher truths taught in Divine revelation, and supply them with real though partial approximations to the true law of their being. (*Op. cit.*[4], i, 59.)

On this view, the ordinances of the law (whether natural or revealed) are necessary in order to secure the basic conditions in which human society, as corrupted by sin, can exist. We cannot have the Gospel preached and the Church carrying out its redemptive mission unless first there is order secured by law. Grace presupposes nature, love presupposes justice, revelation presupposes reason, righteous life presupposes life, the New Testament presupposes the Old. Those propositions, however, though related, are not synonymous, and the word " presupposes " conceals delicate questions which have been either disregarded or roughly handled in much modern theology, but are now, and are likely for a long time to remain, the subject of acute controversy. Meanwhile, silence or reticence about the law is being broken in all the Churches, but in what sense and on what grounds ought we to desiderate a rehabilitation of a doctrine of *natural* law ?

It is one thing to say that God is a lawgiver (all Christians must hold that to be the case); it is another thing to say what the law of God is, how it is made known to men, and what its purpose is in the divine economy.

Is the " law of God " [asks Brunner] the *lex naturæ* " engraved " upon the conscience or is it the law of Moses ? Or is it the Sermon on the Mount conceived as law ? Or is it the twofold commandment of love to God and love to our neighbour ? [And he continues] A conceivable *lex naturæ* does not exist, although, on the other hand, it is certain that no human being exists without some moral sense, without a " sense of ought ". The law of Moses has ceased to be to us an actual entity which can be explained in a uniform sense—even the Decalogue, from the purely historical point of view, is sub-ethical in character. The " law of the Sermon on the Mount ", however, summed up

in the one commandment of love, if it is taken seriously, does away with the idea of law altogether.[1]

The renewed interest of Christians in *natural* law appears to arise on at least two different grounds. On the one hand there is the eager quest for a social doctrine which can serve as the agreed basis for a new order. In a mixed or neutral society this cannot be a specifically Christian doctrine; it must be one which can receive the support of all men of goodwill. It is suggested that Christianity already has such a doctrine at its disposal in the traditional idea of natural law, and that the thing to do is to bring this out, refurbish it, and apply it to present conditions. By definition natural law can be discerned by all men, more or less, by the light of natural reason—*i.e.*, even if they do not acknowledge the truth of the Christian revelation. Let this be the basis for a common social purpose; we need not in this sphere take our stand upon the supernatural. In so far as I understand the matter, this is the kind of appeal to natural law which Dr Karl Barth condemns in his Letter to the Christians of Great Britain.

The other line of interest in a doctrine of natural law arises not from any direct attempt to discover forthwith an agreed doctrinal basis for a new social order (*i.e.*, agreed to by all reasonable and decent people as well as by Christians), but from an attempt to explicate the truths about man's natural or earthly existence in the light of the Christian understanding of his nature—*i.e.*, as illuminated by revelation. It arises out of a new concern with theological truth, and is consistent with diverse estimates of the prospects of social reconstruction in our time. The doctrines of man's creation in the image of God, of his fall and original sin, of his justification by grace, etc., may be expected to throw light not only on his eternal or supernatural destiny and on his religious life, but also on the conditions and right ordering of his temporal and secular life. The Christian understanding of man and the natural world should enable us to see certain norms in regard to the relations between persons in society and between persons and things, which are permanently and objectively valid, and which must be respected if social disaster is to be avoided, or if social health is to be restored or preserved.

[1] Emil Brunner, *The Divine Imperative* (E.T., 1937), p. 144; see also appended note on natural law, *ibid.*, pp. 627-633.

The difference between these two lines of approach seems to me important. The former is based on an appeal to, and confidence in, natural reason, and it can claim as a precedent the tradition of natural law derived from Stoicism. It should, however, be observed that both in the Græco-Roman world and in the Middle Ages, and even afterwards, men were more or less agreed on what was reasonable, and therefore the appeal to natural reason seemed plausible in a way that it cannot be to-day, unless we make the unreasonable assumption that only those people who agree with us are reasonable. In the seventeenth century John Locke could still say: "All men know and acknowledge that God ought to be publicly worshipped."[1] Hooker had previously said that this was an axiom of the natural law so manifest that it needed no further proof (*Eccl. Pol.*, I, viii, 51).[2] This is manifestly no longer the case in our world, nor even in our own country. Jeremy Taylor exposed the weakness of a doctrine of natural law, based on the appeal to reason apart from revelation, when he wrote:

> Reason is such a box of quicksilver that it abides nowhere; it dwells in no settled mansion; it is like a dove's neck, or a changeable taffeta; it looks to me otherwise than to you who do not stand in the same light that I do; and if we enquire after the law of nature by the rules of our reason, we shall be as uncertain as the discourses of the people, or the dreams of disturbed fancies. (*Op. cit.*, II, i, 31.)

Raisons d'état are after all *raisons*, and they are not unnatural; nevertheless in laying claim to right as well as might they pay an unwitting testimony to what they apparently contradict. The most we can say on this ground is, with Brunner, that "no human being exists without moral sense, without a 'sense of ought'", and there may seem to be exceptions even to that. Great as is the importance of this moral sense, it will not provide us with a natural law which has a clear and definite, let alone an immutable, content.[3]

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[1] "A Letter concerning Toleration", in *Works* (1823 ed.), vi, 29.

[2] Cp. Jeremy Taylor: "There are some propositions which all the world agrees upon, such as are, the immortality of the soul, and that there is a God" (*op. cit.*, II, i, 27).

[3] This is not, however, to say that Christians should not co-operate with non-Christians or secularists in social or political action. That is a question of strategy, to be determined by a judgment as to the opportunities that are actually open in a given situation or period.

It is the second approach, therefore, which we may wish to see further explored.[1] There are many questions still to be asked, to which tradition supplies no ready-made answer, and some of which have not until the present time had to be asked. I will briefly indicate some upon which, so it seems to me, much light needs yet to be thrown.

Might it not be better to give up using the term " natural law " in view of the ambiguities and confusions which surround it? At any rate the various meanings and implications of the word " natural " ought to be distinguished, and those who use it should indicate precisely in what sense they are doing so. There seems, for example, to be a confusion between a law about nature[2] and a law which is known by natural reason. Nor is the word " law " free from ambiguity. Must we not also distinguish three different uses of the law—viz., *usus politicus*, *usus pædagogicus* or *elenchticus*, and *usus didacticus*[3]—and say how what we mean by " natural law " is related to these?

The " norms of nature " may be a better expression, signifying the permanent principles concerning human nature and its relation to the natural world which we are commanded by God to observe. We must ask what is the effect of the Fall upon these norms in themselves and upon our human formulations of them. Is the nature with which they are concerned and to which they apply nature before or after the Fall?

To what extent is it possible to achieve a permanent or immutable formulation of the norms of nature? Will not every formulation, which descends from the abstract into the concrete, while containing permanent elements, have these elements inextricably interwoven with relative and changing conditions? Also, since man is never 100

[1] It is quite possible that, when a social doctrine based on the Christian understanding of the nature of man is set forth, it will commend itself by its inherent truth to many who are not at present professing Christians. Indeed, such is the confusion of the times, that it may arouse a readier response outside the Churches than within them.

[2] Cp. the emphasis on the right use of the resources of the earth in the *New English Weekly*, *passim*. No doubt this emphasis is much needed at the present time, but I have not yet found that this aspect of the matter has been made explicit in traditional doctrines of natural law. This may be because it has been left to our civilization outrageously to contravene this norm of nature, and so to require its explicit definition.

[3] See Brunner, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 *ff.*

per cent. objective or disinterested, will not every formulation more or less reflect the particular interests of the period or people that are responsible for it? On this account all previous formulations must be submitted to criticism, and we must not claim finality or permanence for any formulation that we are able to achieve. Has Catholic thought on this subject sufficiently recognized the range and implications of this inevitable relativity? Is it not a factor which it has been given to us to recognize more fully than, *e.g.*, St Thomas or Hooker, although they were not of course altogether unaware of it?

Would not a formulation of the norms of nature, which was to be appropriate for our age and to afford concrete guidance for the ordering of society or even for the conduct of minority groups, have to take fully into account the new technological conditions of human existence? Does not this mean that it would need to be the concerted work, not only of theologians, but of experts in the social sciences as well? Even if we had a St Thomas Aquinas *redivivus*, it would no longer be possible for him to have a competent knowledge of all the relevant data.

These are a few of the questions on which further light seems to be needed. The first volume of Dr Reinhold Niebuhr's Gifford Lectures is an important contribution to the study of some of them, and will, it may be hoped, spur others to grapple with the task. The writings of Dr V. A. Demant, among living English theologians, contain the most profound and suggestive allusions to the subject,[1] but we badly need a more thorough treatise than is yet available.

I conclude with another quotation from Donne's curious book *Biathanatos*:

> That Light which issues from the Moon, doth represent and express that which in ourselves we call the Light of Nature; for as that in the Moon is permanent and ever there, and yet it is unequal, various, pale and languishing, so is our Light of Nature changeable. For being at its first kindling at Full, it wained presently, and by departing further and further from God, declined by general Sin, to almost a total Eclipse, till God coming nearer to us, first by the Law, and then by Grace, enlightened and repaired it again, conveniently to his Ends, for further Exercise of his Mercy and Justice. (*Op. cit.*, p. 127.)

A. R. V.

[1] See, especially, his *Christian Polity* (1936). Fr A. G. Hebert has also written a very useful booklet on the subject, *Grace and Nature* (1937).

Clergy and Laity—A Reply

THIS article must begin with a word of explanation and apology. In the issue of THEOLOGY for January 1941 there appeared an article by Mr Symons on "Clergy and Laity", which contained some frank criticism of the former. Shortly after its publication the Editor wrote to me, saying that he felt that the article called for a reasoned reply, and sending me some correspondence and notes which he thought should be considered in the framing of it. I undertook to try to do this; but pressure of work, coupled no doubt with some of the laziness which Mr Symons believes to be one of our outstanding sins, has resulted in more than a year's delay. I fear that this may have caused some real injustice, both to the Editor, who may have been accused by some readers of letting a writer get away with an unfair attack, and also to the correspondents who wrote to him expressing their dissent from the article. *Mea culpa.*

It is a difficult and somewhat thankless task to try to answer criticisms levelled at one's own profession. If one merely rebuts them, one may be accused either of blindness or of that unlovely "trade union" spirit which regards any admission of criticism as disloyalty. If one accepts them, one lays oneself open to the charge of selling the pass or washing dirty linen in public. What is infinitely worse, one may appear to be guilty of that most hateful form of spiritual pride which thanks God that one is not as other clergy are. But the attempt must be made. The article, alike in what it said and what it did not say, demands it.

I trust that every reader of THEOLOGY keeps his back numbers for reference, unless indeed he practises the even more meritorious virtue of sending them on to friends abroad. But, even so, it may still be desirable to give a brief summary of Mr Symons' argument.

He begins with the familiar point that, although "the standard of loyalty and unselfish service among clergy is perhaps as high to-day as it has ever been during the last thousand years", the Church does not appear to be making a "spiritual dent" anything like commensurate with its resources in plant and man power. This being so, he suggests that "the roots [of our failure] must rather be sought in institutional causes—the recruitment, training and ecclesiastical setting of the clergy viewed as an occupational group".

Pursuing this line of inquiry, Mr Symons fastens upon two main sources of weakness: (1) the inadequate equipment of the clergy for their work as instructors in Christian faith and practice, (2) a number of factors which hinder them in " getting their stuff across " to the people for whom it is intended.

(1) We clergy are, he insists, quite insufficiently trained in the spheres of dogmatic and moral theology. The result of the former is that we fail to present the Christian faith as a reasoned and reasonable interpretation of the meaning of human life, seen in the light of the central affirmation of the reality of God and of His purpose. Sometimes we do not even attempt this; we content ourselves with " rather vague lectures " on subjects which could be better treated by the laity, or with " uplift, culled apparently from the shilling heart-warmers ". The result of the latter is that " in the practical problems of life, including work or citizenship or leisure, most ministers are not only doubtful as to the conclusions—that might be expected—but show an inability even to start to grapple with the problems ". " There is ", he adds, " one exception to this situation: in the realm of sexual ethics many ministers show a dogmatism which contrasts sharply with their vagueness on other moral issues "—a shrewd and well-deserved thrust.

(2) Even when our equipment is rather more adequate we are seriously hampered in making effective use of our knowledge by the existence of certain barriers which effectually prevent us from speaking and living " in the idiom " of those whom we are trying to reach.

These he classifies as: (*a*) professionalism, (*b*) unintelligible language, (*c*) a class-factor in our background and status.

(*a*) The professionalism is of several kinds. Some of it arises from the fact that the Church of England has signally failed to find effective scope for the services of the laity, a failure which has put far too much power and prestige into the hands of its " paid officials ". Some of it is the result of methods of recruitment and training which have served to make the clergy a professional group apart from the laity. This encourages in us a " producer-interest " which is too complacently convinced of the desirability and universal efficacy of the goods which we are there to sell. This, he adds, gravely prejudices the realism of many of our utterances on social problems.

(*b*) The "language difficulty" is too familiar to need much amplification. It is, as he fairly notes, one which we share with most other "intellectuals". But with this added disadvantage, that whereas most of the learned professions have to deliver their goods or starve, we are protected by the almost unique privilege of the freehold.

(*c*) The class-factor operates in a dozen different ways. Many of the clergy, Mr Symons asserts, spend the whole of their life without ever establishing more than a formal and "best behaviour" relationship with working-class folk. Their sermons too often reveal, in their illustrations and assumptions, an economic outlook on life utterly out of touch with the actual conditions in which most of their parishioners are living. In too many cases they fail to interest themselves, and take no active part, in those social and economic institutions—the Co-op., the W.E.A., and others, which, especially in the North, form the background of the healthiest elements in working-class life.

This is a grave indictment. It is made, as one would expect from its author, without a trace of bitterness, and with an evident desire to improve the situation. What judgment are we to pass on its accuracy and fairness?

I do not myself believe that there is a single criticism here made of which one could say: That is wholly untrue. I believe that all the weaknesses exposed are real weaknesses, to the removing of which the Church must give its mind. On the other hand, the method of the indictment is too sweeping. It is "the clergy" who are throughout accused of this or that failing, a mode of attack which tends to leave upon sensitive minds the impression of a rather undiscriminating condemnation.

If I understand him aright, however, Mr Symons might well reply that that is not really his point. He is not attacking either individual clergy or the clergy as individuals. He is not concerned to estimate how many of us fall under this or that charge. He is trying to lay bare certain weaknesses in the whole method by which the clergy are recruited and trained, certain handicaps inherent in their position as clergy, which make it harder even for the really devoted and intelligent man to exercise his ministry effectively.

Here, I think, his argument is unanswerable; and indeed several of the letters which the Editor passed on to me indicate clearly enough that the writers are as conscious as

their critic of defects in their own training. It is greatly to be hoped that the Archbishops' Commission on Training for the Ministry will have some radical reforms to suggest. In particular, it will, one hopes, deal with the issue which Mr Symons' criticism brings into prominence. It is not simply that many ordained men do not know enough dogmatic and moral theology; it is that they have never been trained in the art of communicating what they do know. And the cause of this is not far to seek. It is that they have had nothing like enough time in which to go through the *double* process which true theological study involves.

There must be first, as the essential preliminary, the thorough grounding in the material, the attainment of a reasonably adequate knowledge of the content of biblical thought, of doctrinal formulation, of the great controversial issues which have exercised the mind of the Church. And this first stage in itself requires a good deal more time than can, under present conditions, often be devoted to it. For men will never really get beyond the stage at which much of this material appears as abstract and antiquarian argument, until they have been shown how to enter into the background of life and thought, in which these arguments were neither abstract nor antiquarian, but living issues of faith about which men felt deeply and passionately, for which they were prepared to suffer and die. It is this original contemporary relevance which has got to come alive in the imagination of the student, before he can really be said to understand what he is reading.

That takes time, but even that is only the first stage. It must be followed by a second, which is equally important. This is the stage in which, by reflection and experiment, the living thought of the past is thought through again in terms of the situation, the " mental climate ", in which it will have to vindicate itself in the contemporary world. It is true, no doubt, that this is a process which, to some extent, cannot take place until men have begun to try their hand at teaching and pastoral work. But this is only in part true. Far more could be done within the course itself to stimulate this process of digestion and metabolism. And the experience of most of us clergy will amply bear out the contention that unless it has begun in student days, it is not likely to get very far once we are immersed in the claims of parochial ministration.

The charge of " professionalism " in its various forms

opens up questions the proper treatment of which would require far more space than is available. I doubt whether Mr Symons has taken sufficient account of the diversity of social settings in which the clergy have to work, or indeed of the extraordinary difficulties which beset the attempt to achieve a satisfactory solution of the problem of their right social status.

The burden of his complaint is that as things stand the clergy are, by selection, by training, and by much of the machinery of parochial life, increasingly forced into a position in which they become a class or profession apart, isolated from the life and interests of the laity. And again one would cordially agree. It is perfectly true that many of us fail to free ourselves from the conventional outlook and assumptions which we inherit from our upbringing and education. It is equally true that many succeed in doing so much more effectively than Mr Symons gives them credit for.

But, again, it is not really a question of counting heads. It is a question, in the first place, of looking with a very critical eye at some of the conventional methods of theological college training, of asking ourselves whether this could not be made a much more realistic preparation for the kind of life which the majority of men will have to live, whether in town or country parishes, in the years to come.

But it goes much deeper than that. As some of us found when we tried to study this subject in another context,[1] one reason which makes it so hard for the clergy to discover a *modus vivendi* which satisfies them as expressing their true place in a Christian order of society, is that no such Christian order exists in which to find their place. The whole situation is corrupted by the existence of false standards of valuation, in the world and in the Church, which frustrate the efforts even of the best men.

But there is, I believe, an even graver diagnosis of this divorce between clergy and laity. It springs from the divorce between religion and " secular " life. Increasingly religion appears as an " alien ", whose place and function in the contemporary world it is difficult to see. Science, medicine, psychology, technics, economics, they all " belong", obviously enough; they fit into the pattern; their practitioners have their obvious functions. But religion, worship, prayer,

[1] *Putting our House in Order* (Longmans).

sacraments—what are they doing in this galley? The priest—what is he for? What function does he discharge that cannot be more adequately discharged by one of the other agencies? In such a world, is it any wonder if the clergy, not simply in self-defence, but under the sheer pressure of circumstance, find themselves tending to draw apart, to occupy themselves with those who do still seem to understand and appreciate what they are trying to do and say?

I hold, I need hardly say, no brief for such an attitude, at best a defence-mechanism, at worst a mere way of evading the issue. But I would assert very strongly that the situation which gives rise to it is one the responsibility for which cannot be laid wholly at the Church's door. If it is true that the world has been growing steadily less interested in the truth which, at its best and most enlightened, the Church is trying to convey, well, that is no doubt a very grave matter for the Church. But it is also a very grave matter for the world.

It is, for instance, a matter which no one who is concerned with education can possibly ignore. I came across an interesting and significant bit of evidence recently in a letter from a shrewd and experienced headmaster. He spoke of

> the entirely different background of the ordinary boys' secondary school from the public school and the girls' secondary school. Science is the basis of most of their teaching and largely of their interests. It acts as a Brains Trust and answers their questions. If you tried to answer those questions in a philosophical way it would not act. But the local doctor, whose science is about 1890, speaks their language. Owing to their basic science teaching, none of their education really deals with morals. If they were doing history, literature, or classics they would all the time be concerned with moral issues and judgments. But this does not come into science at all. Therefore the New Testament, which is concerned with meeting moral needs and questions of that sort, appears to them to be answering questions which they are not accustomed to ask. One has got to re-think the presentation of the New Testament and Christian faith in relation to this particular and peculiar background, remembering that the average secondary-school boy is concerned mainly with just practical things, making wireless sets, footling around, going to the flicks, and so on. The right presentation of Christian truth has got to be thought out in that psychological setting.

It must be remembered that a very high proportion of the more intelligent lads with whom the average parish priest in a town is dealing come from this background.

That is a situation which proposes an urgent problem to the Church. But it is a situation which, if they can see it, proposes an equally urgent problem to those who are responsible for reshaping this one-sided form of education.

I am not being merely obscurantist, a traditionalist fighting in the last ditch for a return to the classical basis of education. Everyone realizes that in education, in religion, in the whole structure of our life, we have got to take reckoning with the demands and the values of a scientific age. But the more far-seeing are also recognizing that an education, a cultural background, which produce a generation much more convinced of the reality of electricity than of the reality of God, much more interested in the innards of a wireless set than in the innards of a soul, may well be not a triumph but a menace. It looks as though that notable distinction which Mr C. N. Cochrane has drawn between the *scientia* of the Græco-Roman world and the *sapientia* with which Christianity replaced it is one which has its relevance to-day as much as it had 1,600 years ago.

Mr Symons has done us a real service by pointing out these specific weaknesses in our equipment, and in the methods of our work. But his diagnosis needs to be carried a good deal further. I would not for a moment suggest that the recognition of the larger issues which I have here touched on, can serve as an excuse for ignoring the need for the reforms for which he pleads. There is every reason why the Church should exert itself to make good defects which are within its power to deal with. But the roots of the problem lie deeper. It will require a fundamental shift of emphasis, a radical revision of man's outlook and understanding, a re-integration of the scattered and largely unintelligible fragments of his knowledge, before he will be able to recognize the validity or the relevance of the truth which the Church has to offer.

F. A. Cockin.

The Lyric and Dramatic in the Latest Verse of T. S. Eliot

All Eliot's latest verse treats of the antinomy of Time and Eternity. The flash of insight is familiar in many poets—Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Blake, Yeats—perhaps isolated in its own felt intuitive value. With his view that the work of the poet is to " connect ", and form new wholes from, disparate experiences, Eliot relates this supreme private moment with the Christian doctrine of Eternity, springing from the fact of the Resurrection and embodied in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. The result is no theory of time, in the philosophical sense, but a series of value judgments. Time theories in modern science and philosophy are no more destructive of the doctrine of Eternity than Copernicus' cosmology was of the Christian interpretation of the universe; for miracles of illumination, if not universal, are yet so general that, if they were delusions, the nature and reason of the delusion would still require explanation.

The personal quality of the experience is preserved by Eliot in that all his later poems are dramatic in form: *Ash Wednesday* was also written in the first person, but the experience was not projected in so dramatic a fashion. *Coriolan* and *Marina* are typical of his new method, in their vividness—partly dependent, of course, on the Shakespearean reference—and their contrasting varieties of satire and introspection: the one gives a picture of power politics which perhaps seemed exaggerated when it was written but is now generally accepted; the key to the other is given by its motto, " Quis hic locus, quæ regio, quæ mundi plaga?", taken from Seneca's *Hercules Furens*, at that moment when the hero emerges from hell into the light of day.[1] The setting of the granite foggy shore with its islands is taken from Eliot's own childhood; it appears also at the end of *Ash Wednesday* and in *The Dry Salvages*. If *Ash Wednesday* is Eliot's *Purgatorio*, *Marina* is his *Paradiso*, a glimpse of beatitude in which the mortal world of sensuous beauty falls away,

By this grace, dissolved in place . . .

[1] It is interesting to compare this poem with D. H. Lawrence's pseudo-Christian *Ship of Death*.

and in its place comes a vision:

What is this face, less clear, and clearer?
The pulse in the arm, less strong and stronger?
Given, or lent? more distant than stars and nearer than the eye.

Marina, she who was lost and is found again, is here identified with a very personal recollection, which is also to reappear later:[1]

Whispers and small laughter between leaves and hurrying feet,
Under sleep where all the waters meet.

The power of the poem lies in its rhythm, which combines a choric repetition, bolder than the chiming echoes of *Ash Wednesday* and looking forward to that of the plays, with a delicate, hesitant movement, depicting the wonder of the recognition, at the moment when the beatific vision reveals itself as something also known and familiar:

Those who sharpen the tooth of the dog,[2] meaning
Death;
Those who glitter with the glory of the hummingbird, meaning
Death . . .
Are become unsubstantial, reduced by the wind,
A breath of pine and the woodsong fog. . . .
I made this, I have forgotten
And remember
The rigging weak and the canvas rotten
Between one June and another September
Made this, unconscious, half-knowing, unknown, my own. . . .

These two contrasted moods are also in another way the basis of *Coriolan*; the tramp of the death-filled triumph,

Stones, bronze, stones, steel, stones, oak-leaves, horses' hooves
Over the paving

and the momentary gleam of security which appears, however, only as a mirage to the doomed hero:

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[1] *Cf. Burnt Norton*, Section I:

They were behind us, reflected in the pool.
Go, said the bird, for the leaves were full of children,
Hidden excitedly, containing laughter.

[2] *Cf. The Rock*, VI; *Poems*, p. 170:

Men! polish your teeth on rising and retiring . . .
You polish the tooth of the dog. . . .

O hidden under the dove's wing, hidden in the turtle's breast[1]
Under the palm tree at noon, under the running water
At the still point of the turning world, O hidden.

A combination of intimacy and detachment is here applied, not to personal connexions, as in the early poems, or to a contemplation of society, as in *The Waste Land*, or to inward states, as in *Ash Wednesday*, but to all three simultaneously. It is a new adjustment, which can be seen by comparing the end of "A Game at Chess" in *The Waste Land* (the pub. scene) with the end of "Triumphal March" (*Coriolan I*), where the triviality and incompetence of modern life for the city worker are suddenly presented as part of a deeper disease, and "Please will you give us a light?" becomes a cry for grace.

In these poems are freely mixed symbols from the modern world: the catalogue of armaments and magnates in *Coriolan*, the Massachusetts shore in *Marina*. Eliot here anticipates *Murder in the Cathedral* in giving a truly Shakespearean mixture of ancient and modern, the better to create a Mirror, not for Magistrates, but for Everyman. The wheel of Fortune, identified with the turning earth, and so with times and seasons, also appears, in the lines quoted above; it was to become one of the main images in his treatment of the problem of Time and Eternity.

In *Murder in the Cathedral* and the new sequence, Eliot is attempting to picture the vision of Eternity with its results in Time; miracles of Incarnation.[2] In the play he uses the medieval setting because it helps his purpose, since the medieval categories of thought and organization are those he finds most suitable; yet the Tempters, and the Knights, who are the Tempters' embodiments, are rightly played as modern figures. The play demonstrates

The critical moment
That is always now and here. Even now, in sordid particulars
The eternal design may appear. (Part II, Scene I, p. 55.)

In *East Coker*, the Elizabethan forbears of Mr Eliot are "faded out" into the Second World War. In *Burnt*

[1] Coriolanus to Virgilia:

What is thy curtsey worth, or those dove's eyes
That can make men foresworn?

[2] *Burnt Norton* is Norton House, Aston Subedge, Gloucestershire. The house was burnt down and rebuilt in the sixteenth century, hence its name. It now houses evacuated school children.

Norton, the " moment in the rose garden ", in *The Dry Salvages*, the " fog in the fir tree ", stand for " the point of the intersection of the timeless with time ", the study of which is " an occupation for the saint " and the saint alone; in Thomas such a saint is depicted. The words of the Women of Canterbury were not only the comment on the fore-ordained assassination, they were the most adequate poetic statement of the feeling of foreboding that culminated in Munich, and its conscious shame:

We do not wish anything to happen.
Seven years we have lived quietly,
Succeeded in avoiding notice,
Living and partly living. . . .
But now a great fear is upon us, a fear not of one but of many,
A fear like birth and death, when we see birth and death alone
In a void apart. . . .
O Thomas our Lord, leave us and leave us be, in our humble
and tarnished frame of existence, leave us: do not ask us
To stand to the doom on the house, the doom on the Archbishop,
the doom on the world. . . .
. . . the small folk drawn into the pattern of fate, the small
folk who live among small things. . . .

and in the final chorus:

Forgive us, O lord; we acknowledge ourselves as types of the
common man,
Of men and women who shut the door and sit by the fire. . . .

In *The Dry Salvages*, the Massachusetts coast of Eliot's childhood fuses with his present sense of the Battle of the Atlantic, and both with their religious context. The abrupt colloquialisms in a poetic setting, the sudden switches of rhythm are the " objective correlatives ", the vehicle of this fusion:

> Pray for all those who are in ships, those
> Whose business has to do with fish, and
> Those concerned in every lawful traffic
> And those who conduct them.
>
> (*The Dry Salvages*, IV.)

East Coker is the Somerset village where the Eliots lived before emigrating to America. The poem was written for Good Friday, 1940, and appeared in the *New English Weekly*. *The Dry Salvages* appeared in this paper also, February 27, 1941. A fourth poem will complete the sequence. *The Dry Salvages* are a group of islands off the north-east coast of Cape Ann, Massachussetts, with a bell-buoy. The name is presumably a corruption of " les trois sauvages ". *Salvages* rhymes to *assauges*.

These patterns of times and seasons embody the feeling made explicit in *East Coker*:

> Home is where one starts from. As we grow older
> The world becomes stranger, the pattern more complicated
> Of dead and living. Not the intense moment
> Isolated, with no before and after,
> But a lifetime burning in every moment
> And not the lifetime of one man only. . . .[1]
>
> (*East Coker*, V.)

The prayer to the Virgin, the penultimate section of *The Dry Salvages*, is, like the lament for the drowned Phœnician Sailor in *The Waste Land*, the symbolic centre of the poem. It is immediately followed by a loose-flowing satiric section denouncing that old enemy of Eliot, the Fortune Teller, dealer in past and future. The conclusion introduces a new rhythm, heavy yet unemphatic, with a triple-stressed line, a prosaic but not colloquial vocabulary, considerable repetition and reiteration. The whole gives an effect of steady, even power, of a massively representative utterance:

> For most of us, this is the aim
> Never here to be realized:
> Who are only undefeated
> Because we have gone on trying;
> We, content at the last,
> If our temporal reversion nourish
> (Not too far from the yew tree)
> The life of significant soil.
>
> (*The Dry Salvages*, V.)

Compared with *Ash Wednesday*, *Murder in the Cathedral* and the new sequence have both a new variety and a new monotony. Phrases are repeated from poem to poem; experiences which are recognizably related if not the same reappear in different contexts. The preoccupation with time and the rejection of time:

> Those to whom nothing has ever happened
> Cannot understand the unimportance of events . . .
> Love is most nearly itself
> When here and now cease to matter . . .

[1] *Cf.* the " moments " of *La Figlia che Piange* and the Hyacinth Girl in *The Waste Land*, Section I.

perhaps suggests Yeats or Wyndham Lewis as well as St Augustine.[1] Eliot observes, sometimes defiantly and sometimes dejectedly, that he is repetitive; but in recounting such types of experience there is no alternative to monotony, as writers from widely different times and places are agreed:

> You say I am repeating
> Something I have said before. I shall say it again . . .
> And what there is to conquer
> By strength and submission, has already been discovered
> Once or twice or several times, by men whom one cannot hope
> To emulate—but there is no competition. . . .
>
> (*East Coker*, III, V.)

Monotony is inevitable in the attempt constantly to evaluate the experiences of time by the experience of eternity. Herein Eliot's preoccupation with time differs from that of Lewis, and also of Proust and Joyce—though not from Yeats; moreover, the experience of eternity is acknowledged ineffable in terms of time:

> I can only say, *there* we have been; but I cannot say where
> And I cannot say how long: for that is to place it in time.
>
> (*Burnt Norton*, II.)

The *via negativa* of purgation, detachment, and illumination is either understood or not understood. The reader at this point either grasps what Eliot is saying or he does not; no half-understanding is possible:

> Absolute detachment from all creatures is the best and highest virtue. Higher than love, humility or mercy. . . . Such motionless detachment makes a man supremely Godlike. For that God is God is due to His motionless detachment, and it is from this detachment that He gets His simplicity and His immutability. To be empty of creatures is to be full of God, and to be full of creatures is to be empty of God. . . .
>
> What, then, I ask, is the object of this absolute detachment? I answer that it is neither this nor that. It is absolutely nothing, for it is the culminating point where God can do precisely as He will.—Meister Eckhardt, *Works*, I, p. 340 (trans. C. de B. Evans).

To quote a writer who is *not* used by Eliot is to show more clearly the common ground of the experience:

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[1] *E.g.*, the Crazy Jane and Mad Tom Poems in *The Tower* and *The Winding Stair*, *Time and Western Man*, the *Confessions*, Book XI.

I said to my soul, be still and wait without hope,
For hope would be hope for the wrong thing: wait without love,
For love would be love of the wrong thing: there is yet faith,
But the faith and the hope and the love are all in the waiting.
(*East Coker*, III.)

Some unfortunate observed that this is " the most gloomy verse Mr Eliot has given us ". Well might Eliot say that states of beatitude are farther from what the world understands by cheerfulness than are states of damnation !

Yet with this uncompromising renunciation Eliot achieves a new flexibility and freedom. *Cantat vacuus.* The image of what things felt like at the beginning of the war (" As in a theatre the lights are extinguished for the scene to be changed . . ."), the personal reflections on poetry in *East Coker* II and V, the satiric yet agonized pictures of the general situation (" O dark, dark, dark . . .", " The wounded surgeon plies the steel . . ."), establish a connexion between past and future, between different modes of being in an evaluative sense, which is the main purpose of this later verse. The poems are a whole, yet they combine epigrammatic lines (*e.g.*, " the general mess of imprecision of feeling ")[1] with a readiness in the two satiric sections mentioned to draw equally upon *Samson Agonistes* and Mr Auden. Eliot has regained his old co-ordinating power, ordered from a new point of view.

The whole development shows itself in changes in the nature of the poetic " I ". Dramatic monologue is an early form with Eliot—*e.g.*, *Prufrock*, *Portrait of a Lady*, *Gerontion.* All of these are impressionistic, dependent on the " colouring " of a particular and limited point of view, which is at the same time subjected to self-satire and self-criticism. The degree of projection for the writer and the reader is a ticklish question—it is, *e.g.*, at least as much as in *Bishop Blougram's Apology*—and the satire does not check but reinforce it, being the most " sympathetic " part. " A friendliness, as of dwarfs shaking hands, was in the air." The main emotional effect is in the nature of a by-product (" not a turning loose of emotion but an escape from emotion ").

[1] *Cf. The Rock*, IX; *Poems*, p. 178:

Out of the slimy mud of words, the sleet and hail of verbal imprecisions;

and *Burnt Norton*, VI:

Words strain . . . decay with imprecision, will not stay in place.

In *The Waste Land* the " negative emotions " are stronger: tedium, accidia, and the frozen pity born of foreknowledge and impotence to avert calamity (" And I, Tiresias, have foresuffered all "). Often the " I " seems indeterminate, but nearer to a personal " I " than to Tiresias—*e.g.*, in Section V. The vision is broken, shifting, held together by the negative emotions which pervade it. Some minor figures are dramatized satirically—they are all women.

In *The Hollow Men* the " I " becomes " we ", for in the sheer pain of that experience any sense of personality has lapsed; the opening section announces it. The " we " is an indeterminate suffering consciousness, not people. *Ash Wednesday* is written from a collected personality; the " I " is clear, not as a person, but as a will, and parts of the poem are addresses or prayers. The rhythm, a sure index, is less nerveless, and has a taut power. In the later dramatic monologues the " I " is almost neutral: the old man, the spectator, the stony public figure, no longer tormented by self-satire or insecurity, but by exhaustion and weariness of the flesh. No longer is the tempter the satiric Mephistopheles, debunking all impulses in terms of their origins, but the vehicle of a *weltschmertz*. In *The Rock*, as in *Coriolan*, the country of *The Waste Land* reappears, not for satire but for judgment, with a faint chorus of " the unemployed " behind it:

> In the land of lobelias and tennis flannels
> The rabbit shall burrow and the thorn revisit,
> The nettle shall flourish on the gravel court. . . .
> It is hard for those who have never known persecution
> And who have never known a Christian
> To believe these tales of Christian persecution . . .
> It is hard for those who live near a Police Station
> To believe in the triumph of violence. . . .
> (*The Rock*, III, V; *Poems*, pp. 166, 170.)

This is a foreshadowing of the speech of Thomas to the Tempters. *Murder in the Cathedral* has only two voices—that of Thomas and that of the Women of Canterbury. The Knights, Tempters and Priests are significant only in relation to the others. And the Chorus and Thomas perhaps only represent the two voices of Everyman: human frailty conscious of its failure, and human frailty conscious of its power. The theme is the old one: renunciation, purgation, perfection of the will, the *via negativa*. This is

the whole duty of man. Thomas must not even crave the glory of being a martyr:

> The last temptation is the greatest treason:
> To do the right deed for the wrong reason.
> (*Murder in the Cathedral*, Part I, *ad fin.*, p. 44.)

Illumination, grace, the " wink of bliss ", can only so be obtained; to hope to obtain it is to be defeated at the outset:

> I say to you, *make perfect your will :*
> I say, take no thought of the harvest
> But only of proper sowing.
> (*The Rock*, I; *Poems*, p. 159.)

Or, as *East Coker* puts it, " For us, there is only the trying. The rest is not our business " (Section V).

For the world, or those who would " settle all the inconvenient saints, apostles, martyrs in a kind of Whipsnade ", there is in *Murder in the Cathedral* the unsparing lash which has made Mr Eliot appear splenetic, not only to the enlightened Pagan, but also to his fellow Christians.[1] The Church is unpopular because " she is tender where they would be hard, and hard where they like to be soft ". The Knights, who come from the land of lobelias and tennis flannels, as well as from Aquitaine, are completely condemned. " Go, lost souls." *Murder in the Cathedral* shows one of those moments, " in and out of time ", when a saint is created, a moment in the pattern of time which has a significance beyond time. Though a successful drama, it is from the point of conflicting " I's " a very simple one.

The Family Reunion is Mr Eliot's worst failure. The only real characters are the Furies, and they do not speak. The other characters are simulacra, epiphenomena; the work is a transitional piece, perhaps of more importance to the writer than to the public. In the new sequence the satire which was still perceptible in *Murder in the Cathedral* has almost completely faded; the world, in so far as it enters, is mortal, temporal and therefore incomplete, but neither hostile nor malignant. There is more stability and a new

[1] *E.g.*, he has been accused of being very illiberal towards D. H. Lawrence, and Mr C. S. Lewis, on the other hand, has rebuked him for his attitude towards " the land of lobelias and tennis flannels ". Perhaps Mr Lewis forgot that this land belonged to " decent *godless* people ".

refreshment not only in " the moment in the rose garden ", but in the ordinary beauty of the Somerset village, the Massachussetts coast. The " I " is occasionally discursive, commentary, annotative (*East Coker*, II, V; *The Dry Salvages*, II); sometimes absent altogether, as in the beautiful sestines of *The Dry Salvages*:

> Where is there an end of it, the soundless wailing,
> The silent withering of autumn flowers? . . .

Now Eliot has written for himself a body of work upon which he can draw, and if there is danger in the repetition of his own themes, the present difficulties of any writer justify the risk, even were it not inevitable in his material. He is, too, well aware of the risks:

> One has only learnt to get the better of words
> For the thing one no longer has to say, or the way in which
> One is no longer disposed to say it.
>
> (*East Coker*, V.)

Formulation means supersession. What can be stated has been isolated from the rest of the mind and is no longer part of its growing tissue. It has suffered parturition. Nevertheless it provides something from which to start out again. In an age when traditions are so broken, the poet quickly makes his own tradition, which, if he is only a minor poet, amounts to a few tricks and mannerisms upon which he ever after plays variations; men of thirty today are as helplessly living on their own past work as Wordsworth was at eighty. Eliot's work shows that power to change, and yet to incorporate the work which has been done, which marks a true writer; each separate work fits into the pattern of the whole " œuvre ". The whole is greater than the parts. Eliot, like Herbert, demands to be read extensively.

M. C. Bradbrook.

History and Eschatology

In an article contributed to last month's issue of Theology and bearing the title *God and History* it was argued that the interpretation of history in terms of a faith in the eternal righteousness of God is not possible unless faith (which alone can hope for a solution) has learnt to think in the terms of what has come to be called eschatology. In

secular philosophies (it was argued) there is no hope. Who could today find satisfaction, either for the mind or for the spirit, in the acceptance, whether of the ancient theory of a merely progressive degeneration from a primitive age of gold, or of the alternative theory (found also among the ancients) of an unending and repetitive series of recurrent world cycles? Who could regard as adequate either the two-worlds theory of Platonism (for which the processes of time, change and phenomena were possessed only of an illustrative value, and were relatively unreal, so that history as such in the last resort became meaningless), or the more modern theory of automatic and secular progress, begotten of eighteenth-century rationalism, bolstered up by a misunderstanding of Darwinism, but today radically discredited by the march of events? Who could endure to subscribe to the gloomy vaticinations of a Spengler, foreboding pontifically the impending *Decline of the West*, or to embrace the merely materialistic interpretation of history (which appears to constitute the background of the official outlook of modern Russia), or to subdue his sanity to the delirium of Nazi and Fascist creeds, with their megalomaniac belief in the historic mission and destiny of a world-conquering totalitarianism? Not without reason has Berdyaev written of the totalitarian faiths as being in their essence pseudo-religions of despair, forms of demoniac possession, in which race, nation or class has come to be substituted for God, and in which man, dehumanized by his own machines and " collectives ", has come to " live in an insane world ", and at the same time has " failed to perceive " that he " has become insane ".[1]

The alternative to secularism is faith in God—a revived and renewed faith in the living God of the Scriptures. But the faith of the Scriptural writers themselves had its roots (as was pointed out in the article published last month) in the conviction that *God, the Lord of all righteousness, had decisively acted in history* in times past. The story of the past history of Israel, the people of God's choice, as it is surveyed and interpreted (for example) in such a poem as Psalms cv-cvi (originally, in all probability, a single continuous composition, celebrating the " mighty acts " of the Lord), constituted the basis upon which prophetic faith built up its hope for the future. " In form," writes Professor C. H.

[1] *The Fate of Man in the Modern World*, p. 126.

Dodd, " this is the history of a single people: but in intention it is universal history. If the Lord brought up Israel out of Egypt, He also brought the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir, and He has designs for Assyria and Egypt as well as for the chosen race. But the essential concreteness and particularity of history are expressed in the (instinctive and inevitable) selection of a series of events experienced in their particularity by the community to which they are specially relevant. . . ." Thus " any attempt to qualify or eliminate the particularity of history is contrary to the genius of Hebrew religious thought ".[1]

There are historically sound reasons for believing that in the Hebrew mind the assured faith in the reality of Israel's God, as attested by His " mighty acts " and made known in His achievements on behalf of His people (so that by contrast the gods of the heathen were impotent, and in the last resort non-existent), was both historically and logically prior to the theoretical conviction of full monotheism, which affirmed the sole majesty of Jehovah as Lord and Creator, the Maker and Author of all things, and the supreme Lord of the entire universe; but that inference was drawn. God is the Lord who has " made the heavens and the earth ". He is " from everlasting to everlasting ". The most distant " isles " shall " wait for His law ", and His " wisdom is infinite ". The faith of Israel is a monotheistic faith in the eternal and living God who is the sole Lord of the universe, as He is the Lord also of history.

Yet the interpretation of history in terms of this faith found itself challenged, as we have seen, by the apparent triumphs of evil and wickedness, and by the continuously tragic record of world events. The purpose of God, as it was worked out in history, was indeed illuminated, for the faithful Jew, by the Word of the Lord uttered through prophecy; but the prophetic vision, as it was set forth in the growing *corpus* of Hebrew Scripture, remained through long centuries confessedly unfulfilled. God (as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews was at a later stage to express it) had indeed uttered His word through the prophets: but He had done so πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως, " in diverse fragmentary

[1] C. H. Dodd, *The Kingdom of God and History* (in the volume edited under that title by J. H. Oldham in the " Church, Community and State " series, published in 1938), pp. 18-19.

ways ";[1] and the consummation, the hoped-for " day of the Lord ", the fulfilment of all prophecy, and the actualization in history of the promises of God, was a divinely-purposed achievement which still tarried, and with which the experienced course of events in the present era or " age " of world history was in sharp contrast. Generation after generation of the perplexed and suffering " righteous " in Israel " died in faith, not having received the promises ", however true it might be that they had " seen them and greeted them from afar ";[2] and there was developed by consequence in late Judaism a this-world pessimism with regard to the present " age " (which was evil); and, by contrast, the hope of the future " age "—the coming " age " of Jehovah's salvation—was flung out upon a vaster stage than that of history, in any ordinary sense of the words; for men had come to look for the intervention of God upon a scale which would affect the whole universe; to anticipate not simply the redemption of Israel, but the vindication of the righteousness of God in relation to all mankind, on the basis of a universal world judgment; to hope for a renewal and re-making of the entire creation, which had been marred and spoilt by the entry of death, evil and sin, and which as a consequence had been made subject to frustration or " vanity ";[3] and to look for " new heavens and a new earth ", wherein " righteousness "—the Divine Righteousness, now at the last fully vindicated—should abidingly " dwell ".[4]

It is in the context of this type of developed eschatological hope, which in certain of its aspects belongs rather to the period between the two Testaments than to the Old Testament proper (though its beginnings are to be found there), that our Lord came upon earth. And it was upon earth that He came, as an actual historic Person, Jesus of Nazareth, a first-century Jew: though the Gospels affirm that He shall come hereafter to judgment as the Son of Man in the clouds, with power and great glory. But upon earth He comes as the Messiah, proclaiming God's Kingdom and the " acceptable year of the Lord ". He is, indeed, according to the New Testament faith—and by implication according to the claims which He Himself actually made

[1] I borrow this translation from Fr A. G. Hebert, *The Throne of David*, p. 72.
[2] Heb. xi, 13. [3] Rom. viii, 20. [4] 2 Pet. iii, 13.

(and which at the trial before the High Priest became even explicit)—in His own Person none other than the promised Redeemer, the decisive Bringer of salvation, the Lord's Anointed, in and through whom the Law and the Prophets and the Scriptures of the Old Testament generally are to find their fulfilment. St Paul, when he wrote that "how many soever be the promises of God, in Him is the yea; wherefore also through Him is the Amen, unto the glory of God through us",[1] was doing no more than put into words the essential conviction which permeates the New Testament writings from the first page to the last. Christ comes upon earth as the Fulfiller, through whom is to be consummated the "whole counsel of God". And there is certainly a sense, as Professor Dodd (from a striking essay by whom I have already quoted above) has in various published writings of late been emphasizing, in which this means that the ἔσχατον, the decisive (and, in that sense, ultimate and final) act of God for the redemption and re-creation of a fallen world, has already entered history. The New Age has already dawned. "There is here a divine event, unique and decisive, in which the whole purpose of God in history is made manifest."[2]

Of course such a faith (and beyond question such *is* the faith of the New Testament Church, as it is the faith of Christians and of the Christian Church, down to this day) is involved in what Gerhard Kittel has described as the "scandal of particularity";[3] for it involves the taking of a particular series of events in history, in all their concrete historical contingency and relativity, as determinative of the meaning and final outcome of the history of mankind as a whole—past, present and future; and that certainly challenges the mind with the sense of its paradox. And so, too, it involves surely the affirmation (as Christians have always maintained) that the Christ of whom these things are asserted, while on the one hand He is, in the strictest sense, an historical Figure, born of Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, is yet also on the other hand, in the mystery of His eternal being, a Person by whom history is transcended, One who enters the stream of world history, so to speak, from

[1] 2 Cor. i, 20.

[2] C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments*, p. 214.

[3] See Gerhard Kittel's essay, "The Jesus of History", in the volume called *Mysterium Christi* (edd. Bell and Deissmann, 1930).

without, even the Son of God who " for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was made man ".

But the question may be asked: Granting all this, are we then to affirm, on the ground of the Incarnation, Passion and Victory of the Son of God over the powers of sin, evil and death, accomplished once and for all in the arena of world history in the first century A.D., that the eschatological hope, as the New Testament understands it, has been thereby fulfilled, so that the " mystery of God ", which is " according to the good tidings which He declared unto His servants the prophets ", has been " finished " ?[1]

Professor Dodd, in the writings of his to which reference has already been made, has come very near to affirming something like this. He distinguishes, within the four corners of the New Testament writings, what he describes as the " futurist eschatology " from the " realized eschatology ": but I think it is fair to say that, in his view, almost the whole of the emphasis is to be laid on the latter. " Eschatology," he writes, " is not itself the substance of the Gospel, but a form under which the absolute value of the Gospel facts is asserted. The second Advent is not the supreme fact, to which all else is preparatory; it is the impending verification of the Church's faith that the finished work of Christ has in itself absolute value."[2]

In what Dodd writes of the element of " realized eschatology " as constituting, from one point of view, the peculiar and characteristic form of the earliest Christian proclamation of the Gospel there is an obvious truth. He draws attention, for example, to the emphasis in the New Testament as a whole on the idea of *fulfilment*, as illustrated alike by our Lord's own opening words in the Gospel (" The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand ") and by the constant appeals, both in the Gospels themselves and in the Apostolic preaching, to the fulfilment of prophecy. The miracle stories (he points out), of which the Gospels are full, " correspond closely with the symbols which the prophets had used to depict the supernatural character of the Age to Come " (" The blind see, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, the dead are raised and to the poor good tidings are proclaimed "); the miracles are for the Evangelists an evidence that *the supernatural has now at length manifestly and decisively entered (or re-entered) history.* So

[1] Rev. x, 7.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

also the conquest of demons, in particular, means that *the powers of evil are being decisively overthrown* by the power of God (" If I by the finger of God cast out demons, then the Kingdom of God has come upon you "). The work of Christ constitutes further, according to the New Testament, in a real sense a *Divine Judgment* of this world, a theme which is characteristic of the Fourth Gospel, but which appears also in St Paul, according to whom God, by means of the death of Christ, had at once manifested His righteousness and condemned sin in the flesh. And, lastly, it is sound New Testament teaching that the gift of *eternal life* is already bestowed upon Christian believers, and is by them in a true sense already realized in experience.[1]

All this, truly enough, means that in Christ the day of fulfilment has dawned, that God *has* " visited and redeemed His people ",[2] that in Christians there is already a " new creation ",[3] for they have already " tasted the powers of the age to come ",[4] and have been " delivered out of the power of darkness and translated into the Kingdom of the Son " of God's " love ".[5] There is, indeed, in the New Testament a " realized eschatology "; and that fact constitutes truly, from one point of view (and it is important to realize it), the very heart of the Gospel message, for it is the essential ground of its finality. In Christ the New Era, the ἔσχατον, the final salvation of God, has already dawned; upon this conviction, this truth, depend both the decisiveness and the absoluteness of Christianity. " For there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved."[6]

But the world still goes on. The Church, redeemed through Christ, is still " militant here in earth ". Christians still pray " Thy Kingdom come "; and there is certainly prominent enough still in the New Testament, side by side with the element of " realized eschatology " to which Professor Dodd does such adequate justice, a " futurist eschatology " which is taken up later into the credal affirmation, " He shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead: whose kingdom shall have no end ". I do not think it is adequate to say, with Professor Dodd,

[1] The substance of the above paragraph is summarized from Dodd, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-214.

[2] Luke i, 68. [3] 2 Cor. v, 17; *cf.* Gal. vi, 15.

[4] Heb. vi, 5 [5] Col. i, 13. [6] Acts iv, 12.

that the element of "realized eschatology" satisfies all the conditions of the eschatological event, *with the solitary exception of the "element of sheer finality", which remains as a "residue"*,[1] and for the satisfaction of which alone the beliefs in the Second Coming of the Lord and the Last Judgment have been retained by the Church as "the least inadequate myth of the goal of history".[2]

The forms in which futurist eschatology expresses itself are inevitably pictorial or (if the word be preferred) mythological: and the perils of literalism and of eschatological fanaticism have recurred from time to time in the course of Church history, and in some quarters persist still. Dodd is justified when he writes that "it is impossible ever to revive the belief that the Lord would in literal truth arrive to judgment upon the clouds of heaven during the thirties of the first century", and that "to work up a fantastic expectation that He will arrive"—shall we say, in the forties of the twentieth century?—"is not primitive Christianity, whatever it may be".[3] We are living as men here upon earth, and we live and think as from within the time process, which, as we look before and after, appears to stretch out endlessly and infinitely alike into the past and into the future. Neither the beginning nor the end of history can in the strict sense be *thought*. The beginning and the end can be expressed *only* in terms of mythology—a myth of Divine Creation at the beginning, a myth of the winding up of the time process, expressive of the consummation of history, at the end. But the consummation, or end, properly speaking (it may be suggested), is not, and cannot be, itself an event in time. For what it implies is precisely the taking up of the order of time into the order of eternity; and it is, in one sense, perpetually "at hand", since the relation of the temporal to the eternal order is not itself one of temporal remoteness, but of continuous immediacy.

And for the Christian the consummation involves more than "the element of sheer finality". It involves the victory of God, the complete and manifest vindication of His righteousness; the Judgment, in which the Divine Verdict, alike upon history as a whole, and upon every child of man that has ever lived, is made finally clear, together with the "abiding consequences" thereof; the triumph of Christ and of His saints; the utter defeat of all evil; and (for

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 231. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 240. [3] *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

those who, through Christ, are redeemed unto God) the wiping away of all tears, and the endless fruition of life eternal in that perfected kingdom of heaven which is "righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost",[1] and in which "all are united to one another, all enrich and are enriched by one another, in the adoring apprehension of the Divine Truth, the adoring contemplation of the Divine Beauty, and the adoring activity of co-operation with the Divine Goodness",[2] in absolute holiness.

It is manifest that that consummation, from the point of view of the Church still *in via*, still on pilgrimage here in the midst of this troubled earth, is a vision of faith and hope, of which the fruition can only be hereafter. "Here have we no continuing city." The Church lives by its faith, and believes that already it is the heir of the Coming Age, that it has "tasted" of the "powers" of that age, and already in the gift of the Spirit possesses the "first-fruits" and "pledge" of the life eternal. Christians, says the author of the *Epistle to Diognetus*, "have their existence here upon earth, but their citizenship is in heaven." It is as those who belong to the Coming Kingdom, for the advent of which they pray daily, that they are called upon to live, and by its Divine standards they are to judge themselves, and thereby to determine their attitude towards life and its problems. They are to claim for their Lord the Divine Sovereignty over the world, seeking not only to spread His gospel, but to forward His cause and His kingdom, doing what in them lies, by His grace, to promote the ordering of human affairs in accordance with His revealed will, and in that sense working towards the achievement of a less radically unchristian and a more fundamentally equitable order of society, meeting the challenge of each and every successive historical situation as in the course of history it confronts them.

But, if they are wise, they will not look for an earthly Utopia, for none such has been promised to them. The Church in the early centuries of its history was rightly guided to reject the heresy known as Millenarianism—the expectation of a literal thousand years' reign of the Christ upon earth. It is the heavenly hope which is essential to the Christian religion, the primary concern of which is with the eternal welfare of souls, and which must not be secularized

[1] Rom. xiv, 17. [2] *Doctrine in the Church of England*, p. 219.

by being allowed to become primarily a religion of this world.

For, indeed, though the Church's faith is from one point of view rooted, as we have seen, in the conviction that in Christ the New Age has already dawned, and the decisive victory been won, so that the New Testament proclaims, as the sequel of Calvary and Easter, the enthroned sovereignty of the victorious Christ, "crowned with glory and honour,"[1] and "seated" at God's "right hand", and affirms, with a confidence which cannot be shaken, that "He must reign, till He hath put all His enemies under His feet",[2] there is no attempt to disguise, or to shrink from, the undeniable and manifest truth that "we see not yet all things put under Him".[3]

The two opposed (but not contradictory) assertions bring before our minds the strange paradox of Christian history. The glory of Christ, from the point of view of this present "age" of continuing struggle and conflict, is a hidden glory, discerned and affirmed by faith, but denied and challenged by the world. Not yet is the undisputed dominion and victory of the kingdom that has no end. The struggle between evil and good still persists. The issues, to all outward appearance, hang still in the balance. It is clear that the conflict, so far as this world is concerned, will endure to the end. It is to a world beyond the sphere of things seen and terrestrial, beyond death and tears, that the final consummation belongs. When we affirm that the Christ "shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead", it is to the swallowing up of the order of time in the order of eternity that by faith we look forward. "The world passeth away, and the lust thereof." A merely this-world realization of the ἔσχατον, taken by itself, could never satisfy. The fulfilment is beyond time and beyond history, and belongs to the "age" or "world" which is to come.

JOHN DERBY.

[1] Heb. ii, 9. [2] 1 Cor. xv, 25.

[3] Heb. ii, 8. I adopt the view that the author of Hebrews, on the strength of the occurrence in Ps. viii, 4 of the phrase "son of man", regarded the whole Psalm as having a Messianic reference and as being fulfilled in Christ, so that the comment "we see not yet all things put under him" means not that "all things" (including the angels) are not yet fully subjected to *mankind* (so Westcott and others), but that not all things are as yet fully subject to *Christ*. There is a divergence among commentators, but the view I prefer has good support.

MISCELLANEA

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

The Rev. F. A. Cockin is Canon and Precentor of St Paul's Cathedral.

Miss Bradbrook is a Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge, and Lecturer in English Literature.

The Rev. S. C. Hughson is former Superior of the Order of the Holy Cross, and the author of many works on mystical and ascetic theology which have been published both in America and in England.

The Rev. E. C. Hudson, F.S.A., is Rector of E. Gilling and Canon and Prebendary of York.

REVISED REVIEWS—XII

Mysticism. By Evelyn Underhill.

The recent death of Miss Evelyn Underhill was no small loss to the Church, but compensation is found in the renewed attention which has been directed to her work. Her book, *Mysticism*, was published more than thirty years ago, and it is an encouraging sign that a book of this character after thirty years is still regarded as worthy of serious study.

One of the secrets of Miss Underhill's work lies in the fact that she wrote in no detached spirit. Her work is scientific; it is historical and interpretative, and she succeeded singularly well in making her treatment of the subject objective; but at the same time she wrote with warmth and glow as one who felt deep in her soul the truth, the strength, and the beauty of the mysteries she was seeking to show others. Hers was no curious study in spiritual biology.

In order to evaluate the significance of her work at the time it was given to the public, we must glance at the history of so-called mysticism. The word *mysticism* is a modern one. It was never used in the present-day sense by the earlier writers, and was unknown to the great post-medieval mystics such as St John of the Cross and St Theresa. *Contemplation* and *mystical theology* were the more ancient expressions, the former being the more primitive, while the latter was used to indicate a knowledge of God acquired through prayer rather than through intellectual study. *Theologian* did not mean a scholar, learned in divine sciences, but one who knew God through prayer. " Those may rightly be called theologians who in prayer are penetrated," wrote St John Climacus in the sixth century, " with a fire that is sacred and all divine "; and seven hundred years later Jean Gerson declared that " the object of mystical

theology is experimental knowledge of God acquired in the unifying embrace of love " (*Considerations*, xxviii).

This conception of mysticism dates back to the early ages of the Church, and it was handed down through sixteen centuries without question. Then came a strange eclipse. Influenced by an unreasoning fear of Quietism, the Jesuit and other schools of the seventeenth century turned against the older methods of prayer, with the result that by the end of the eighteenth century mysticism came to be regarded as wellnigh a heresy. The teaching and practice of St Augustine, St Gregory, St Bernard, and a multitude of others, were set aside in favour of the newer method, now known as meditation, which, with its set subject, points for consideration, appointed times, and duration of the exercise, was unknown in the Church until the latter part of the fifteenth century, when it was developed into a formal practice by the Brothers of the Common Life in the Low Countries. None of the older Religious Orders provides for such an exercise in its Rule.

But the supplanting of mysticism was not merely incidental to the growth of the practice of meditation. There was direct and strong opposition to it, although this opposition did not dare to repudiate it as a thing in itself objectionable. The mystical life was good, but, it was said, the dangers incident to its practice were such that no soul could dare aspire to such prayer. If God chose to give such experiences, one might be thankful, but none but a prideful spirit would ever ask for such favours, or even desire them. To do so came perilously near the sin of presumption.

The Oxford Movement began when this eclipse was at its full, and this probably accounts for the fact that in all the wealth of devotional literature which that movement produced there is scarcely a suggestion of contemplation or mysticism of any kind. Rich stores of material for meditation were unearthed, but the mystical element is scarcely mentioned. Perhaps the nearest to it was Dr Pusey's redaction of the Abbé Avrillon's exquisite meditations on the Song of Solomon, *The Year of Affections*. But he guards against mysticism not only in his own preface, but by printing with it Jeremy Taylor's essay on meditation, in which the old bishop deprecates such modes of prayer, and warns his readers against them as likely to be the fruit of a " credulous, busy and untamed fancy ".

Of course, all this was a flight from the tradition of the Church which had prevailed for sixteen centuries. But the truth always avenges itself in time. At about the beginning of the present century there came a powerful reaction. The first important English contribution to the literature of mysticism at this period was Dean Inge's Bampton Lectures on *Christian Mysticism*, published in 1899. This was followed in 1908 by Bishop Chandler's *Ara Cœli*, and von Hügel's monumental work, *The*

Mystical Element of Religion. Miss Underhill's book appeared in 1910, and was immediately accorded what seems to be a permanent place in English religious literature.

Miss Underhill says that those who use the term " mysticism " are bound to explain what they mean by it; but just here the trouble begins. Few authorities have ever been able to agree on a definition, and consequently they are always at each other's throats. She avoids controversy, but her idea of mysticism did not fail to evoke sharp criticism. " The God of Christianity, the world-soul of pantheism, or the absolute of philosophy " she regards equally as " the proper subject of mysticism ". She confuses the objective existence of the " one God " of the Nicene Creed with mere intellectual concepts; and she here would seem to make no distinction between the essential prayer-life of a Christian mystic whose soul is nourished by the indwelling Christ and that of the Sufi or Buddhist. But Miss Underhill is happily not always consistent in her language. No one ever was who tried to compass in human speech the mystery of contact with the Infinite. By mystical reality she really means man's susceptibility for God which is universal; but there is no divinely revealed way of union with God save the Christian way. We know not what God of His will may work in the soul of the non-Christian mystic, but if the New Testament be true, no soul can attain union with God save in the Mystical Body of Christ, the God-man. How He may admit certain souls ignorant of that revelation to that Body we know not, neither dare we inquire. But we do know that He is " the Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world ", and that the impulse of all prayer has its origin in Him. It is made clear that every man is a potential mystic for the reason that every man is destined of God to enjoy the Beatific Vision which is the permanent and continuous and supremest exercise of the mystical faculty. He may attain to that destiny or he may forfeit it, but it is none the less his in the purpose of God. Man can never find his term save in union with God. The soul of man, maimed by the Fall, remains sub-normal, and maladjusted both to God and to society, until it finds its right relation to Him.

The sub-title of Miss Underhill's book carries with it the statement of one of the essentials of Christian truth. She calls it " a study in the nature and development of man's spiritual consciousness ". In this last word, consciousness, lies one of the keys to the mystery of Christian mysticism. Non-Christian mysticism ever tends to nihilism. It finds its highest expression in the doctrine of Nirvana. Christian mysticism, on the contrary, looks not to the losing of self as a final objective, but only as a means to an eternal end. " He that loseth his life for My sake shall find it " was the assurance of the Master. Finding life, not losing it, is the ultimate purpose. The aim of man's

progressive union with God is the fullest development of self in God, every faculty being so perfected, and so co-ordinated with every other faculty, that the whole man functions perfectly for the divine glory, and so fulfils his predestination. Thus is the mystical life the most practical and realistic life.

Of course, to those who do not believe in prayer this will be devoid of any meaning. They cannot understand that the abandonment of the world is undertaken only that the soul may, to use Plotinus's expression, " energize enthusiastically " on another and a higher plane. The world with its narrow, materialistic vision knows nothing of any such plane. It rejects it wholly, and has little patience with any who seek what it regards as a chimera. In discussing this subject Miss Underhill shrewdly remarks: " Much of the misunderstanding and consequent contempt of the contemplative life comes from the narrow and superficial definition of ' work ' which is set up by a muscular and wage-earning community."

In one comprehensive paragraph Miss Underhill sets forth the aim of the teacher of the realities of mysticism. He who seeks God is seeking to learn not how to crush self, but how to change his centre of gravity. " Our business, then," she says, " is to trace from its beginning a gradual and complete change in the equilibrium of self. It is a change whereby that self turns from the unreal world of sense in which it is normally immersed, first to apprehend, and then to unite itself with Absolute Reality; finally, possessed by, and wholly surrendered to this Transcendent Life, becomes a medium whereby the spiritual world is seen in a unique degree operating in the world of sense. In other words, we are to see the human mind advance from the mere perception of phenomena, through the intuition—with occasional contact—of the Absolute under its aspect of Divine Transcendence, to the entire realization of, and union with, Absolute Life under its aspect of Divine Immanence. The completed mystical life, then, is more than intuitional: it is theopathetic. In the old frank language of the mystics, it is the deified life."

Then follow her chapters on " The Awakening of Self ", " The Purification of Self ", and " The Illumination of Self ". Self stands along with God in the forefront of her argument, for while Self of itself can do nothing (the initiative must always lie with God, and everything must be begun, continued, and ended in Him), God has also decreed that He will do nothing without us. God operates, but man must co-operate. The awakening of Self is conversion. We are familiar with this subject through the writings of many modern psychologists, notably Starbuck and William James. Of purification we know less, as must be so from the nature of the case; but it is the way of purging from all sin and imperfection, a process which can never cease in this life. However high the mystical walk to which the soul is called, his feet can never leave the purgative way

so long as he is *in via*. And purgation is always through love, which is God Himself, for " God is Love ".

This purgation is not always the mere practice of certain virtues in order that the contrary vices may be slain. The practice of the virtues is necessary, but this and nothing more would prove a dreary and laborious process. Rather is it the throwing wide the windows of the darkened soul that the love of God with its cleansing light may enter in. Thus with purgation comes illumination, and the soul moves on in the way of union with God, which is the final destiny of every soul. But, says Ruysbroeck, " here begins an eternal hunger which will never be satisfied ". God gives Himself to the soul, and with every such giving the soul's capacity to receive expands and deepens, with a consequent renewed longing and desire for Him which in its turn brings still richer gifts of the God-life. Thus is the soul ever filled with the infinite sweetness of God and is ever hungering more and more for fuller stores of that sweetness, for this is the beatitude in which the promise is made not to them that be filled, but to them that hunger and thirst after righteousness, which is God.

One question remains to be asked: We have had a wide revival of interest in the study of mysticism; have we had a revival of mystical prayer? Miss Underhill tells us that mysticism must be " a genuine life-process and not an intellectual speculation ". Men study what they think is God's method and technique; how few yield themselves so to the Spirit that this method may be employed upon them, God, as St John of the Cross says in a rare passage, " anointing the soul with the unction of loving knowledge, most delicate, serene, peaceful, lonely, strange to sense and imagination ".

S. C. Hughson, O.H.C.

NICÆA, THE CITY OF THE CREED

The importance of Anatolia, or Asia Minor, in the early history of the Church is apt to be overlooked. Yet before St Paul was martyred there were already great Churches in Asia Minor, such as Ephesus and Smyrna. And whilst more than one hundred representatives from Asia Minor attended the first Ecumenical Council at Nicæa in A.D. 325, the whole of Europe could send only twenty. Moreover, every Christian Church today is largely governed by the statutes and canons formulated by the councils which were held in Asia Minor.

Nicæa is situated in the north-west of Asia Minor, some twenty miles south of Ismidt (Nicomedia), in what was the Roman Province of Bithynia. It stands on the shores of Lake Ascanius, which is connected by a river with the Gulf of Mudania. It is off the beaten track of tourists, and is only reached with some

difficulty. Perhaps the best means of approach is by the Bagdad railway from Haidar Pasha (the terminus opposite Constantinople on the Asiatic side) to Mekedge station on the right bank of the Sakaria River, about two hundred kilos down the line towards Eski-Shehir (Dorylæum). From Mekedge, shortly after the (1918) Armistice, the writer reached Nicæa by means of a *voiture postale* in company with an armed Turkish gendarme. The journey seemed a long one, but the beauty of the scenery compensated for any discomfort by the way. A succession of hills, covered with oaks and other green trees, extend as far as snow-capped Olympus away to the south; and, with the blue waters of Lake Ascanius, the scene is indeed one of great beauty.

Modern Nicæa is little more than a small Turkish village, known today as Isnik. Around, however, is the mur or enceinte of the ancient city, with a circumference of some nine miles. There is a first enceinte flanked with semicircular towers forming the mœnium or rampart of the Latins. Then at a distance of sixteen metres comes a second enceinte flanked also with towers disposed like a chessboard with reference to those of the rampart. The mœnium has over a hundred towers, the agger one hundred and thirty. The towers, gates and battlements are still intact. Three large gates are pierced in this enceinte, that of Constantinople (Stamboul) to the north-east, that of Lefke to the east, and that of Yenishehir to the south-east; and on both sides of these gates is a massive tower constructed in brick. The Lefke gate has an arch of triumph, built by the Emperor Hadrian in the year A.D. 120, with two Greek altars let into the wall on either side.

The first city built on the site of Nicæa was known as Pythopolis, and was said to have been founded by Persius to the memory of a friend drowned in the River Ascanius. In Pliny's time the soil was already strewn with the debris of earlier foundations. When, as Strabo tells us, Nicæa was re-founded in the fourth century B.C. by Antigonus it was re-named Antigonia. His successor, Lysinimachus, again changed the name to Nicæa, in honour of his wife. The kings of Bithynia made it their metropolitan city, and under the Romans it was the seat of a pro-consul. The Emperor Claudius adorned the city with fine buildings. Pliny added a theatre, and Hadrian fortifications. The Emperors of Byzantium inherited the city from the Romans and regarded it as one of the glories of their empire. The Byzantine Emperor Justinian (483-565) embellished the city further with an imperial palace, basilica, baths and aqueduct.

In the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks conquered Asia Minor, and later Nicæa became the capital of an empire known as the Sultanate of Rum. Subsequently the capital was transferred to Iconium and the Seljuk sultans ruled there for three centuries. The ruins of the medressas, mosques, and tombs of Iconium still bear eloquent testimony to the patronage of

culture and art enjoyed by their empire under Ala-ud-din the Great.

Nicæa came into prominence at the time of the first Crusade, when it was fiercely besieged by the Crusading host. The chroniclers of the first Crusade wrote at some length about Nicæa. The Crusaders, according to Anna Comnena, were " guileless men marching in all simplicity to worship at the tomb of Christ ". After they had left Constantinople and crossed the Bosphorus they gathered their forces together in Asia Minor and marched on Nicæa, which was the first city besieged by them. As many as nineteen nations were represented amongst the Crusaders, who, says Fulk of Chartres, " though divided by language, seemed to make but one people by our love of God ". Before the walls of Nicæa knights of the different countries engaged in military exercises and combats, and were distinguished by badges, which originated the custom of bearing coats of arms.

The first attack on Nicæa failed. The relieving army of Kilij-Arslan, " exultingly dragging with them the ropes with which to bind us captive ", met with a signal defeat. And the Crusaders, according to the chroniclers, cut off the heads of some of the slain and " flung them into the city, a thing that wrought great terror amongst the Turks inside ".

The Crusaders succeeded in undermining a massive tower, but, unfortunately for them, it did not collapse till nightfall. " Itaque capta esset civitas nisi noctis tenebræ obstitessent " (Raymond of Agiles, 596 B). Meanwhile the defenders had been receiving supplies from the Emperor Alexius, who had caused vessels to be brought overland and launched on the lake which washed two sides of the city. After some two months the Turks, in preference to falling into the hands of the Christians, surrendered to Alexius. Of him Raymond of Agiles tells us: " Quamdiu vixerit populus semper ei maledicat et proclamat proditorem eum."

Nicæa could boast of two churches of quite unusual interest. That of St Sophia, which dated from the eighth century, was in ruins before the Great War. It was the ancient Cathedral of Nicæa, though converted by the Turks into a mosque. In A.D 727 the Seventh Ecumenical Council was held within its walls.

The Church of the Blessed Virgin is even older than that of St Sophia. It was destroyed by the Turks in the course of their struggle with the Greeks in 1922, when its ancient mosaics, including the famous icon of the Great Council, depicting St Nicholas of Myra clouting Arius on the ear, perished. Amongst its treasures were a font and a pulpit, each over a thousand years old. It is, says Canon Douglas, " the one church in which a living, clear, historic tradition of 1,500 years of Orthodox life had never been broken ".

The Great Council of A.D. 325 was not held in a church, but

in a hall by the side of the lake. A tessera, or mosaic stone, which the son of the priest of Isnik picked up on the site and gave to me now serves as a jewel in a chalice used at Westminster Abbey. The priest himself, Jordanes, was martyred by the Turks after suffering cruel indignities. With one exception the whole of the 500 Christian inhabitants of Isnik were massacred by Djemal Pasha, and their bodies thrown into either two caves or the ancient well.

Thus do Christian people still bear witness with their blood to the Truth as it is enshrined in the Creed of Nicæa.

EGBERT C. HUDSON.

COMMENT ON LITERARY PERIODICALS

THE life of a literary periodical grows more and more precarious. *Poetry*[1] seems to have gone out of business, at least temporarily. Another *Townsman*[2] is to be expected, and will contain some interesting reviews, but it has not yet come our way. *Scrutiny*[3] has been the object of a scornful attack from *The Times Literary Supplement*. It is true the last three numbers have been disappointing. Mrs Leavis's long study of Jane Austen does some convincing detective work on the genesis of the novels, but it is vitiated by a strong, false contrast between what is conventional in her morality and what is deeply and personally felt. Miss Austen felt her conventions, even when they set her on edge, and the more when she accepted them. She was no Powys or Joseph Conrad. Dr Leavis, on Conrad, makes his points with very much greater difficulty, but he is engaged in a very much more serious kind of criticism. In the October-November number a new series begins by D. A. Traversi on Modern Italian Poetry. This starts with what looks like a very technical criticism of Leopardi and Carducci, but develops into an analysis of the plight of Italian culture in and after the Risorgimento, which looks as if it will be of more than literary interest. The particular article which aroused the wrath of *The Times* was Mr Winkler's on Mr John Hayward's selection out of T. S. Eliot's critical prose. This is certainly slick and superior, but no more than usual, and it has the merit of confining itself to one, and that the soundest, of the points which *Scrutiny* has made against Mr Eliot at intervals for the last seven years—that his criticism, but not his poetry, is liable to lapse into abstract generalities. In any case, it was not for the *Literary Supplement* to cast the first stone, for their heavy and patronizing appraisal of the same book in the same week

[1] 25, Marchmont Street, W.C. 1. 1s. 3d.
[2] West Mill, Morwenstow, North Cornwall. 2s.
[3] Deighton, Bell and Co., Cambridge. 2s. 6d.

expressed surprise that T. S. Eliot should discuss Miss Marie Lloyd next door to the Lambeth Conference. But the two have stood cheek by jowl in *Selected Essays* since 1932. If I had a bone to pick with Mr Winkler it would be about the tone of his handling of Mr Auden in his next article, and the worst thing in this number seems to me to be an attack on Eric Newton's Penguin by a Mr Stephen Reiss, who would like him to have adopted Professor Wolfflin's classification of all art into classical and baroque, instead of his own rather too easy division into symbolical and naturalistic. But the point of Mr Newton is that he is at least intelligible. He is an excellent introducer. *Scrutiny* never has understood introducers, but if we can't do without them, we can't do without it either.

But in these days the disillusions of the highbrows are fair game for all the weekly reviews, except *The New Statesman*, which is fair game itself, and moans on without any great conviction. If in England Mr Eliot has a partial alibi on account of his belief in another world than this, which makes him a shade more cheerful, in America he and all other creative writers since (and including) Henry James have come under the lash of Mr Van Wyck Brooks. The danger to any independent intelligence of this outburst of *Kulturbolschewismus*, reminiscent of the worst excesses of Socialist Realism in Moscow and Berlin, is ably exposed by Dwight Macdonald in the November-December *Partisan Review*.[1] This clever American quarterly announces its intention of continuing to publish, and if necessary defend, poems from such reactionary writers as Eliot, Ransom, and Tate. And it is prepared to discuss with real intelligence and sensitivity Hawthorne, Proust, and the mechanics of abstract painting. But too much of the last two numbers is taken up with a rather fruitless political discussion which has probably ended abruptly in the conversion of all the editors to the necessity of American intervention. Trotskyism is a useful alibi from allegiance to Stalin or Churchill or Roosevelt (or of late all three). It leaves you free to appreciate *The Waste Land*. But as a constructive approach to sociological problems it seems a bit barren.

We have now to expect that all the American literary quarterlies will encounter the troubles of belligerency. But *Decision*,[2] the exiles' paper, is so excitedly enthusiastic about the rhetoric of Mr Winston Churchill, in which there is no flaw, that it may weather all its troubles and turn into a propaganda sheet under Herr Klaus Mann's captaincy. It is a strange mixed bag of politics and poetry. The denunciations of Falangist intrigue in Spanish America might be found anywhere. But translations of poems by Franz Werfel and Berthold Viertel

[1] 45, Astor Place, New York. 25 cents.
[2] 141, East 29th Street, New York. 35 cents.

are interesting. Some of these are by Auden. And there is a reproduction of a self-portrait by the French Catholic painter, Rouault, whose work has been recently considered in *The Dublin Review*.

It is to be hoped that, whatever happens, the financial backing of *The Southern Review*[1] will remain. The editing of the summer number seems to me quite excellent. The South gets its share in the discussion. Delmore Schwartz does justice to that strange genius, William Faulkner. An unpublished manuscript of Joyce's is unearthed, and there are some most interesting and serious notes on conversion in poetry. But it is not all literature. A Mr Rushton Coulburn gets to work to criticize the anticipations of a sterile world civilization in Berdyaev, Spengler, and Toynbee; and Mr Frank hunts for an economic basis for liberal values, with the aid of an able *Scrutiny* writer, Mr H. B. Parkes. There and in *The Kenyon Review* we see what is most sensitive and intelligent in the American mind moving away from the philosophy of John Dewey, though still uncertain of its direction.

The January, 1941, number of *Diogenes*,[2] which has arrived late, has a good many poems by John Wheelwright, and an article about him by Austin Warren. Wheelwright, who was born in 1897, seems to combine Anglo-Catholicism with Trotskyism. This combination my reactionary mind finds hard to understand, but it might interest some readers of THEOLOGY. He waves about apocalyptic imagery, but it looks to me more like intellectual vaudeville.

GEORGE EVERY, S.S.M.

NOTE

In those parishes where, instead of a three hours' service on Good Friday, a service of one hour is held, *With Christ in His Passion : an Hour's Devotion for Good Friday* (S.P.C.K., 4d.) should be welcome. The service, which was compiled by Canon H. L. Hubbard shortly before his death, consists of readings from Scripture, hymns and collects, and ends on the note of preparation for Easter Communion. It does not suggest that there should be an address or addresses. The Archbishop of Canterbury has given permission for its use in his diocese.

[1] Louisiana State University, Louisiana. 75 cents.
[2] Box 2035, Madison, Wisconsin. 20 cents.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE THRONE OF DAVID. By A. G. Hebert, S.S.M. Faber. 12s. 6d.

The author of *Liturgy and Society* and of *Grace and Nature* has once again laid us under a debt to him by giving us, in this new book, a study of the fulfilment of the Old Testament in Jesus Christ and His Church. This biblical theme has furnished the subject-matter for numerous treatises since the appearance of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, which was perhaps the first book to set forth at length the doctrine that the Church is the " true Israel ". It can seldom have been handled with more skill, fairness, and critical acumen than in Fr Hebert's latest book.

His approach to the Old Testament is critical, in the best sense of that word, but at the same time he insists that modern biblical students have erred in " interpreting the Bible in categories alien to itself ". " They have been treating it in evolutionary terms as the story of the development of Israel. But Israel herself thought of her story as one of a Call and a Vocation " (p. 29). " It has been," he says, " one of the major sins of Old Testament scholarship in recent times that the right principle here has been generally ignored; the writers have been judged as individuals, and also without reference to the fulfilment of the Old Testament in the Messiah " (p. 243). Fr Hebert therefore proceeds to examine first the Messianic Hope, Israel's Universal Mission, and the Impotence of the Law, before treating of the Fulfilment, the Lord of the Sabbath, Man and his Salvation, the Sacrifice of the Messiah, the Gospel for all Nations, and the Truth of the Bible.

The two grounds of the faith of the Old Testament are defined as (*a*) the reality of God, and (*b*) the fact that He has chosen Israel to be His people. In order to demonstrate theologically the fulfilment of these two ideas in the Messiah and His Church Fr Hebert has considered it necessary to describe as " Messianic " not only the concepts of the Son of David, the Servant of Yahweh, and Mount Zion as the place of the Messianic kingdom, but such notions as Paradise Restored, the Remnant, the Bride, a New Heart and a New Spirit, the Spirit of Yahweh, the Divine Intervention, and Apocalypse and Prophecy. To many readers it will appear that some of these ideas can more properly be described as eschatological than " Messianic ". If it be legitimate to regard the Messianic hope as " the prophets' vision of the manner in which Yahweh would complete His purpose which He had begun " (p. 68), then there is no more to be said. But there are many who will feel that the term " Messianic " is more properly reserved as the specific designation of one particular aspect of that salvation of mankind which the

prophets of Israel conceived to be the goal of history. It was the prominence in post-canonical Judaism of this particular branch of the Hebrew hope that produced the name Messiah as a technical term (which it never was in the Old Testament) and that influenced New Testament thought so profoundly.

In his treatment of the theme that the Church is the " true Israel " Fr Hebert is to be congratulated on avoiding the pitfall of antisemitism. Where we find Justin saying of the Bible to Trypho, " your scriptures, or rather not yours but ours, for you, though you read them, do not catch the spirit that is in them "; where the writer of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, or an Ignatius, or a Jerome, regarded it as heresy even to try to share the good things of promise with the Jews, our author declares: " Christians are more ready with material help and sympathy for Jews in the persecutions which are falling on them in our day than to show a spiritual sympathy with their traditions and with their faith. We are apt to forget that He whom we call our Lord came first as their Messiah; and we might well take more pains to make them feel at home in the fellowship of the Church " (p. 233). He describes a well-known Gospel parable as our Lord's " cartoon of the Pharisee and the Publican" (p. 105); speaking of the observance of the Law, he grants: " All honour to the Pharisees, who were carrying on the battle fought by the prophets of old to guard the faith and religion of Israel from heathen contamination " (p. 145). It is, therefore, all the more surprising to find him discovering an antithesis between the New Testament, which allows no claim to individual merit (" We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which it was our duty to do "), and the Old Testament, " condemning those who wilfully disobeyed the Law, but pronouncing a blessing on those who kept it " (he cites Ps. cxix, 1: " Blessed are those that are undefiled in the way, and walk in the Law of the Lord "). One would have thought that the suggestion that this attitude shows the Old Testament to have failed to reckon with the full seriousness of transgression (p. 176) was sufficiently disproved by Ps. li; Job xv, 14, xxv, 4; and Micah vi, 6-8. Moreover, the word translated " Blessed " in Ps. cxix 1 is not *bārūkh* (LXX, *εὐλογητός*) but *'ashʿrē*="happy" (LXX, *μακάριοι*). It is the word which occurs in Matt. v, 6 and throughout the Sermon on the Mount. Unfortunately this is only one instance of words and phrases taken from the Old Testament which the reader will do well to check by reference to the Hebrew text.

A few minor points call for notice. There is a bad anachronism on p. 96, where one is amused at the thought of Greeks or Egyptians " going to live in the ghetto ". A main verb is lacking at p. 87 (last line but one); " so holy thing " should read " so holy a thing " (p. 115, line 28). For " become " read " became " (p. 202, line 8), for *μετανοία* read *μετανοία* (p. 187), and for *ποιεῖν* read *ποιεῖν* (p. 190).

Lest we be thought ungracious in pointing out such foibles, let it be said, in conclusion, that we owe a debt of deep gratitude to Fr Hebert for reaffirming the spiritual and universalistic message of the Old Testament—so often lost to sight in the maze of archæological and textual criticism—a message which is so sorely needed in our day to save the world from humanism on the one hand, and from defeatism on the other, and to point us upward and onward toward the City of God.

C. W. Dugmore.

Tixall.

The Evangelical Doctrines of Charles Wesley's Hymns. By J. Ernest Rattenbury. Epworth Press. 12s. 6d.

This is a very good book and should appeal to a considerably wider public than its title might seem to suggest. Much of it was originally delivered in the form of a lecture on a well-known Methodist foundation, and deals in very illuminating and broad-minded fashion with Charles Wesley's theology as revealed in his hymns, with reference first to the great fundamental doctrines which Methodists share with other Christians, and secondly (and more particularly) to the distinctive doctrines of the Methodist revival—in regard to which Charles was by no means at all points in agreement with his brother John. Yet even here the method of approach is essentially psychological and biographical. As Dr Rattenbury remarks: "The theology of Charles Wesley cannot be properly understood apart from his life and experience. His inner life is best disclosed, indeed only truly disclosed, by the hymns which he wrote so constantly that they have been called his *journal intime*." For all his scholarly attainments and cultivated mind, he was never much interested in the intellectual aspects of religion: for him dogma was always suffused with the lights and shadows of an intense emotional experience which found expression in an unceasing and torrential outpouring of religious verse. For example (to quote our author again): "One does not get to the heart of the Wesleys' doctrine of salvation by thinking of it in the terms of Justification by Faith; not that they did not receive that doctrine—indeed, it was intellectually the ground of their approach to God—but that in experience their sense of God's fatherly love in Christ overwhelmed them. The centre of their spiritual life is not to be found in the acquittal of a judge, but in the love through His Son of a Father. . . . There is a difference, not in dogma, but in accent and emphasis, between the teaching of Luther and the Wesleys. In point of fact, the notion of Justification is rarely developed, though not infrequently referred to, in Charles Wesley's hymns. The stress is all on God's love in Christ's Passion, not only on the pardon which it brings, but on the transforming joy and love of a new relationship to God." This

is well said, and expresses the secret both of the beauty and of the power of early Methodism at its best.

In the case of Charles Wesley, then, even more than of most writers, the things he wrote must be studied in the light of the personality and experience of the man who wrote them. It is its treatment of the hymns from this angle that constitutes the great value of the present book, and will make it interesting to many to whom a study of doctrine as such would make little appeal. Dr Rattenbury tells us that his book was originally intended to form part of a trio of volumes of which the first was to deal with "the man Charles Wesley as portrayed by his hymns". This larger project has had to be abandoned temporarily owing to the war; but it is to be hoped that what the author calls his subject's "verse autobiography" (which, he says, is already written) will see the light in due course, for it cannot fail to be of value both to the hymnologist and to the religious historian. Meanwhile, he has incorporated in the present volume those parts of it which illustrate his special subject. In this connexion, too, his treatment of the chronology of the hymns is exceedingly helpful, as also are the sections dealing with the use of his brother's hymns by John Wesley (who showed small scruples either as to altering them or to cutting them about) and the disputed question as to whether certain of the hymns were written by Charles or by John. (Here, in view of the accepted view that all translations from the German must be John's, because Charles did not know that language, we may note Dr Rattenbury's query, "Why in that case was he chosen to teach English to Peter Böhler?") Much light is thrown on Charles Wesley's choice and use of metres; and there is not a little sound and well-informed criticism of the hymns in their literary aspect, in which justice is done both to their amazing excellencies (in particular, what a superb gift of imaginative, soul-piercing phrase the man had at his best!) and also to the carelessness, triteness and repetition which almost inevitably disfigure sometimes the work of one whom Dr Rattenbury estimates to have written over 7,300 hymns in all! The book (which is admirably produced) is furnished with a series of valuable appendixes and a copious index.

C. S. Phillips.

Stalisfield.

Christ and "the Spirit": an Essay in New Testament Christology. By William Samuel Bishop. Longmans. New York. $2.

This exposition of the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Spirit, by a distinguished American theologian, completes a trilogy, of which the first two volumes are *Spirit and Personality* and *The*

Theology of Personality. It begins with the theme of "the historical manifestation of the Holy Spirit" in the coming of Jesus, and it carefully analyses the New Testament use of the terms "Spirit" and "Holy Spirit", with and without the definite article. Careful distinctions are drawn, such as that between the Holy Spirit (which is somehow one with Christ: "the Lord the Spirit") and the "spirit of Christ" (with a small "s"), the human spirit of Jesus, or the spirit in which He lived and worked. Holy Scripture is taken as guide: "We must ever move from Holy Scripture to theological formula, rather than in the reverse direction." The distinctions which the author discovers in the meaning of the word "Spirit" in the New Testament seem to necessitate a prior discussion of the inspiration of Scripture; if we could assume the verbal inspiration of (say) the W. and H. text, then doubtless the omission or inclusion of the definite article would be of great theological importance. Nor would it matter much whether a quotation came from the Synoptists or St John, and our author's method would doubtless enable us to erect a very exact theological edifice. But can we really be quite so precise? However, leaving aside this underlying doubt, we find in this book a carefully-articulated theology of the Spirit. "The title 'Lord', as applied to Jesus Christ, conveys the meaning of *Deity enshrined in humanity.* In this sense the Name is sacramental. If, then, as we have seen, the nature of the 'spirit' in any given connexion is determined by the Person whose spirit it is, then we may safely affirm that 'Spirit of the Lord (Jesus)' connotes not only the human spirit of Jesus Christ, but also the Divine and eternal Spirit which proceeds from Him as 'Lord'. Moreover, if He is 'one God, one Lord' with God the Father, it follows that the Divine Spirit 'proceeds' not only from the Father, but also from the Son" (p. 69). The last two chapters deal with the Spirit and the Church, the sacraments and ministry. "If the Spirit of Christ, or if Christ Himself as 'Spirit' is real and objective, so is His 'mystical Body' a concrete and objective reality. 'The Spirit', the Lord, and the Church—these three are inwardly one, and that through a life which is human no less than Divine" (pp. vii, *f.*). This is the thesis of the book. A definitely High Church point of view is adopted, but the author does not maintain that the "Protestant Christian bodies" have no sacraments or ministry at all: "They have sacraments of *prophetic* ministration; Catholic churchmen maintain sacraments of *Apostolic* administration. But whether ministered by Prophets or Apostles and their successors, the sacraments are *sacraments of Christ*, ministered by *servants of Christ*" (p. 189).

ALAN RICHARDSON.

KIRBY MUXLOE.

INTO THE WAY OF PEACE. Edited by Percy Hartill. James Clarke. 6s.

This book, written by members and sympathizers of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, argues the pacifist case with evident sincerity, and several of the essays are of outstanding merit. But it does not bring forward any new arguments to support its thesis, and it is hardly likely to make fresh converts to its cause. Its main value to the Church at large will lie in the reminder that it brings, and which is more necessary than ever in this third year of a war of increasing severity, that there are still certain unalterable principles of morality which must at all costs be respected.

Fr D. D. A. Lockhart traces the development of the Christian theology of the just war in a learned essay, interpreting the changes which it has undergone as representing capitulation by the Church to a sub-Christian society rather than the application of permanent principles to a changing situation. The essays on "Unity: Sacramental and Fundamental", by the late Miss Natalie Victor, and on "Prayer for Peace", by Fr Gilbert Shaw, show deep spiritual insight and are of real value. Mr Middleton Murry, writing on "The Church's Duty and Opportunity", combines as usual an almost unique power of getting to the heart of the contemporary setting with a most regrettable lack of any real sense of the Church as possessing a divine as well as a human side. The other essays are of less merit, though some are of considerable interest.

This volume provokes the reflection that the inadequacy of most pacifist writing is that it directs attention upon the question of the legitimacy of war in general to the neglect of the things that are happening in this particular war (Mr Murry's essay is an exception). The problem of the means of war is of obvious importance here; but no less pressing is the multiplicity of questions arising through the breaking-up of families by evacuation and conscription. It is most alarming that, so far as can be seen from the utterances of its spokesmen, the Government has little consciousness of the danger to which the fundamental social unit of the family and the home is exposed by the rapidly increasing conscription of women and has given no undertaking that, as soon as the immediate emergency has passed, it will devote at least as much effort to the reconstruction of family life as it is now (no doubt quite unavoidably) giving to its dislocation. And, to turn to the sphere of worship, it is highly disquieting to see how little place is being given at the moment in our churches to any form of prayer for the nation's enemies.

It may be relevant, in conclusion, to call attention to two earlier books on the theology of war which are in danger of being forgotten, but which are of far more importance than that under review: Fr Gerald Vann's *Morality and War* and the symposium

entitled *This War and Christian Ethics*. Intelligent Christian thought about the war is more than ever to be desired at this moment, when it is so difficult to find time for it. E. L. MASCALL.

LINCOLN.

THE QUEST FOR SALVATION IN AN ANCIENT AND A MODERN PLAY. By Maud Bodkin. Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d.

CINNAMON AND ANGELICA. A Play. By John Middleton Murry. Andrew Dakers. 3s. 6d.

Miss Bodkin, in an essay of forty-three pages (plus three appendices), compares Mr Eliot's *Family Reunion* with the *Eumenides* of Æschylus. In each play the Furies (Erinyes) are converted into friendly powers (Eumenides), but the modes of conversion differ as the Ancient Greek and modern cosmopolitan civilizations differ from one another. Æschylus celebrates the supersession of the old blood-feud by the reign of law within the Athenian democracy: the Furies which pursue the blood-guilty become presiding genii in a city pledged to enlightened justice. Orestes' purgation, which focuses the wider, political theme, is ritualistically attained; in the old play psychological relationships remain unconscious. Mr Eliot's play is a study of the plight of modern civilization; his Furies are those of the " Waste Land ", a land of isolated souls without mutual contact and suffering from the obscure compulsion of relationships they do not understand. Thus Harry's life reproduces the false relationships between his parents. Release comes through understanding, and understanding is achieved through the breaking down of personal barriers between Agatha and Harry. So the Furies become transformed into the symbol of a supernatural destiny which must be pursued, not avoided. Miss Bodkin, who refers in her analysis to the psychology of Jung and Freud, finds that " in this play of Eliot the movement to the new order lacks the objectivity " of Æschylus: salvation for Mr Eliot is " merely a personal, spiritual experience ". It appears from her incidental discussion of democracy and the war that the objectivity Miss Bodkin desires would be something approaching a political program for the post-war world. There is certainly nothing of this in *The Family Reunion*. Miss Bodkin does not believe the spiritual experience involved to be distinctively Christian. I agree that Mr Eliot's statement is in the main untheological, but a passage quoted on p. 30 of this essay refers to " reconciliation ", " sin and expiation ", and " purgatorial flame "; also to " flames of ice ", a paradoxical description similar to those found in medieval visions of purgatory. The experience, then, is not merely personal: it is within the main Catholic tradition and is capable of universal application. Nor is it so exclusively spiritual as to be unconcerned with our life in the material world;

it is precisely through earthly experiences that the spiritual experience is mediated.

I am not sure that *The Family Reunion* is successful as a whole, but it has passages which are among the finest poetry that Mr Eliot has yet written. Miss Bodkin's essay, however, contains no real literary criticism—no help, that is, to a closer understanding of the verse; and without the most careful examination of the verse in all its implications any general theory of the play must remain highly conjectural. Nevertheless this little book does contain important material which any future critic of the play must necessarily bear in mind.

Mr Middleton Murry has revised and re-published a play, *Cinnamon and Angelica*, which appeared first in 1920. It is a sentimental fantasy embodying a very sentimental pacifism. The play is written in blank verse with a pseudo-Elizabethan cadence; the language neither ancient nor modern. There are several respectable dramatic clichés ("I thank you for your pains"; "I do them wrong") and the imagery imitates the Elizabethan—even at times its "toughness"—without ever achieving its significance or variety. Mostly the Elizabethan is seen through a haze of minor Romanticism:

> ". . . The poisèd spinning of the wheel
> Of destiny; the low dirge of the moon
> Laving the body unto burial
> Of her night-balmèd lover; the solemn speech
> Of conclaved oaks to their tall sister pines;
> The waters murmuring at the cool caress
> Of day-dispelling stars . . ."

So it goes on: every choice image of select poetry, garnered haphazard, vague and amorphous in presentation; a sickening and unhealthy prettification of a serious theme. Apparently Mr Murry was requested to reprint the play: there should be limits to an author's complaisance.

S. L. Bethell.

Cardiff.

The Church Looks Ahead. Broadcast talks by J. H. Oldham, M. B. Reckitt, Philip Mairet, Dorothy L. Sayers, M. C. D'Arcy, V. A. Demant, T. S. Eliot, with an Introduction by E. L. Mascall. Faber. 3s. 6d.

These talks excellently summarize the arguments, now well known to the Christians who read books, but not to the others and not to the general public, for our present ills and discontents finding their cause in a widespread apostasy from the Christian faith and tradition. In his "Root of our Troubles," Dr Oldham shows the evil results of modern man's Descartian assumption that he is free, independent and self-sufficient, whereas, in fact, he is dependent "on nature, on his fellow-man

and on God". The other speakers develop several aspects of this argument, especially where it touches on the war. Each of them is immune from that passionate and blind attachment to one country's virtues and cause which is so common in war; each of them knows that renewing our civilization needs more than an economic " new order " and some political scheme of a Federal Union type.

The book, then, is good. But it may be asked whether, as broadcasts, these talks were as successful as they might have been. This question is vitally important, because it is for the Church and Christians to make their message understood by the common people. " Those facts of the case," wrote Dr Goebbels, " which once were accessible only to a few experts and learned people, were dragged by us on to the streets and hammered into the head of the common man; everything was put so simply that even the most primitive mind could understand it. . . . Here lay the secret of our success." If we return to these broadcasts it must be confessed that they seem not meant for the common " man of the masses " at all.

This is a criticism which the B.B.C. itself, even in its news bulletins, does not escape. Much Government home propaganda, too, has been quite above the heads of the bulk of the people. This is well brought out in the report on Home Propaganda recently done for the Advertising Service Guild by Mass Observation (in " Change " No. 2). It gives a list of words, based on Mass Observation's researches for compiling a Working-Class Dictionary, " unlikely to be understood fully by large sections of the public ". They are drawn from official broadcasts, ministerial speeches and newspaper editorials, and include words of this kind: ascertained, analogy, commodity, co-ordinate, fallible, fundamental, integrity, imminent, paradoxical, specific, unambiguous. All, of course, are everyday words for educated people. Some of them are used in the talks being reviewed, but there are others like " secularized ", " epitome ", " biological evolution ", the distinction between " unconscious or only semi-conscious presuppositions ", and the still more difficult one between " person " and " individual ". The book's profound and important argument is in its nature difficult. This is not to say that any reader of this review will find the talks other than extremely clear; but he is not the man in the street. There are many ways of approaching the educated classes, but the wireless talk is one great opportunity for reaching the " man of the masses ". Few serious broadcasts are on his level. Might not Christians be the first to discover the simpler technique needed for broadcasting?

Christian speakers today have a wireless audience not unlike that facing the early Franciscans who went to teach in those rapidly expanding suburbs of the thirteenth-century cities. They had grown so rapidly that great parts of them were without

churches and the people without Christian teaching. How to speak to the common people over the wireless is admirably foreshadowed by the racy simplicity of the vernacular sermons of San Bernardino of Siena, examples of which can be got in English.

WALTER JAMES.

MANCHESTER.

BISHOP G. L. KING: THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE. S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d.

A modest memoir of one described by a disciple with pardonable exaggeration as "the most perfect man". Just as our Lord is His own message, and we like to read the opening of St Mark's Gospel appositionally, "The beginning of the Gospel—viz., of Jesus Christ"; so with all true Christian prophets, the man before us and his message are inseparable. Bishop G. L. King was not perhaps of the stature that demands or even justifies a large biography; but as "a man of God, a man of prayer, and a man under Orders" (the Bishop of St Albans says in a Foreword) he richly deserved the devotion of very many friends and spiritual children, and his memory is well served by a succinct account of his life and work. What he wrote and said is represented by a small prose and verse collection, entirely in harmony with the character sufficiently recalled to those who knew and loved him. Others would be refreshed and moved to thanksgiving if they read this account of a typical figure of the last generation of leaders in holiness and duty, one who received, developed and preserved to the end "something quite distinctive and personal" that made him almost the ideal Christian pastor and Father-in-God. A happy conjunction of circumstances was seen at the Lambeth Conference of 1908, when "the American bishops persisted in thinking that he and the Bishop of Lincoln were father and son, as he armed the saintly old man about". Our distaste at this last phrase (not elsewhere aroused by this memoir) is almost assuaged by the felicity of the picture, and we are glad to be told that "to many there was a resemblance in the look of spiritual life shining in both faces".

Bishop G. L. King was a disciple of the "Durham giants" and owed to them the "solid calibre of the men trained in the '80's". Add to this that his lifelong personal piety was guarded and strengthened by membership of the Society (not the Community) of the Resurrection and close contact with the Community at Mirfield through retreat and otherwise, and that he looked upon Charles Gore as "a supreme guide in doctrine", and enough has been said to illustrate the character of his faith and practice. We are given fair sketches of his parochial work on Tyneside, his episcopate in Madagascar, his subsequent service as S.P.G. Secretary (of which the College at Solly Oak

may remain the permanent memorial), and his last years at Rochester, when his sheer spiritual strength was ideally exercised in a multitude of ways. The limits of our book forbid more than a little about each section of his life, but the balance is fair. The eulogies quoted are but typical, as the present writer would personally testify. Bishop King was spiritually " homo factus ad unguem ", with emphasis that he would have put on the " factus ". We are grateful for this anonymous act of devotion to his memory.

A superfluous negative seems to make nonsense of the quotation from Fr Steuart on p. 23, but this is a rare blemish.

L. D. Heppenstall.

Malvern Link.

An Introduction to Christian Social Doctrine. Church Literature Association. 2s.

Here are nine short essays by six different writers. Mr J. V. L. Casserley begins by pointing out quite rightly that the Christian doctrine of the nature and destiny of man bears directly upon the problems of politics, economics and society. He is clear that there is not a specifically Christian mathematics or botany, but thinks that there is a Christian economics. This raises the vital question of how far a doctrine of man is necessarily implied in the social sciences, and to what extent they differ from the natural sciences in this respect. But we are given no answer in this book. One would have thought it plain that to answer this question some knowledge of the social sciences as well as of Christian doctrine was necessary. Unhappily, we are presented with three lamentable essays by Mr W. G. Peck, which show, not that he understands economic theory and has been able to find fundamental flaws in it through his knowledge of Christian doctrine, but that he does not understand it. Yet he presumes to write about the economic system and the monetary system without the necessary tools for grappling with them. The result is a horrible mixture of confusions, in the midst of which, of course, there are some correct statements, since it would be difficult to write three chapters quite erroneously. Since this is hardly the place for lessons in elementary economics, we cannot stop here to disentangle the confusions. Nor is it easy to find short quotable examples of a general attitude. However, here is one: " Production itself thus creates the impossibility of its own distribution. Work becomes less procurable by men because the things made cannot be bought. The machine and power technique which are simply the enlargement of man's power to work, bring his work to futility . . ." (p. 46). This is not the way to reach a new synthesis of the different specialisms which is so badly needed—by over-riding one of them. Few

would dream of writing about psychology without knowing what those trained in that science think they are doing. Why do it in economics? Moreover, this is by no means the first time Mr Peck has offended. Like the Bourbons, he seems to learn nothing and forget nothing. Nor does he stand alone. It is very disquieting that Christian thinkers should continue for years with such shoddy work, that clergy up and down the country should be misled, and that the Church, which has produced many psychologists who have more than held their own in that subject, should in economics appear to be dominated by amateurs, not to say cranks, whose flounderings can never earn any respect from those trained in the subject.

The rest of the book is better, though most of the contributors are dominated by a crude under-consumption theory. Miss R. Kenyon writes on the nation, the international community and on government. Mr E. L. Mascall has a lively chapter on the family as a means of increasing the population of heaven —or hell. Canon C. E. Hudson writes on education with too many remarks in foreign languages for a popular book, and Mr Casserley concludes with an essay on Christian social action. That which repeats the first chapter is fairly satisfactory, but the new material is less so. He makes the curious claim that the vision of the Christian is alone free from distortion, which is to claim that the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit completely eliminates original sin; a "liberal" heresy coming out in a surprising quarter! He rightly argues against a Christian political party, but his reason seems quite wrong, that politics is a battlefield in which Christian doctrine has no very great interests. The real reason is surely the relativity of all particular ethical judgments, those of the Christian included.

There is a pitifully inadequate bibliography, both as to omissions and inclusions.

RONALD PRESTON.

SHEFFIELD.

CHRISTIAN REALISM. By John C. Bennett. S.C.M. Press. 6s.

The contents of this book are not so harsh or disturbing as the title may have led its American readers to expect. In this country the word "Realism" has lately acquired more favourable associations than definite meaning. Professor Bennett says: "The primary reference of the word 'Realism' in the title is to the conviction pervading the book that Christianity avoids the illusions of both the optimists and the pessimists." That does not carry us very far, since the conviction is one which presumably all Christians can profess to share. It does, however, signify that Professor Bennett is disposed to follow the theological *via media* that is congenial to Anglo-Saxons, and also that this *via media* is at present changing its course. "We are

now facing a deeper layer of problems than was the case ten years ago, and we are prepared once more to orient our minds towards the distinctive contribution of the Hebrew-Christian tradition." That is about as much as can be said so far, and this book is a good illustration of the way in which American Protestant theology is being affected by the new direction.

The paradoxes of Reinhold Niebuhr are toned down by Professor Bennett—*e.g.*, he prefers the word "contrast" to "contradiction". He has also been influenced by Brunner, Berdyaev, Maritain, Temple and Oldham. He administers the pill, but it is well sugared. Both good news and bad news are broken gently. Thus it is said that Paul and Augustine "believed that men by the grace of God *can become* new creatures" (italics mine); but the good news is much more astonishing, and indeed much better, than that.

The best part of the book is devoted to an explication of this sentence: "The Christian understanding of man consists primarily of the following two affirmations: First, that man is made in the image of God; and, second, that man is a fallen creature." The last chapter on "The Movement of Redemption" is less profound and, I should say, less realistic. Professor Bennett remarks with a touch of complacency that "no American thinker has written an influential book on Christology or on the work of Christ in several decades. . . . There is something about the conventional discussion of Christology that seems unreal to many of us in America." That will not do. Again, and perhaps in consequence, the truth about the Church is both grander and baser than Professor Bennett's ecclesiology recognizes.

Nevertheless, this is a book to be recommended; it is honest, restrained, and well written. It interprets, even if it gently modulates, some important and comparatively fresh theological insights as they bear upon the contemporary scene; and even when you are dissatisfied with what is said, it is worth while to discover just why.

A. R. Vidler.

Hawarden.

Return to Holiness. By W. G. Peck. Dacre Press. 5s.

This is an opportune book, which can be strongly recommended to the average Christian reader. The idea of holiness has too long been associated in the public mind with either an esoteric pietism or with a rigid puritanism of morals, both of which are in effect methods of escape from the reality of a full life. The value of Mr Peck's book is that not only does he explain clearly and persuasively the Christian doctrine of holiness, "the re-integration of man, within the Redeemed society, with God and

with the natural world ", but that he also points the way by which the ordinary man and woman make it a reality in their own particular experience. He takes the characteristic expressions of the Christian life—as man, prophet, failure, saint, etc.—and reviews each with emphasis upon the means by which each character may be attained not in theory, but in the actual " here and now " world of today. This method, though it leads to some reduplication of argument, should make the book particularly suitable for Lent reading or for study circles. What better question could a parochial study group take today than that postulated in the chapter on man: " If we may be Christians only in the oratory, and non-Christian in all other places because they are occupied by a godless world, how can we say that the Christian is man?" A group or an individual, as preparation for self-examination, would find much profit in considering the question in the chapter on the Christian as ascetic which asks: " How far ought I to go without things, as a discipline for rightly using them? And how much ought I really to give away for the help of those in need, and how much ought I to keep for perfecting the tasks I ought to perform and living the life I ought to live?" The devout reader will find in this book a true setting forth of the great Christian tradition of sanctity drawn from the Gospel and expressed by the saints—a sanctity which is firmly rooted in the ordinary things of life, and in the growing love of the neighbour, for, as St Catherine of Siena declares, " every virtue is obtained by means of the neighbour ", and because the soul knows that God loves the neighbour so he is moved " to love the object, which God loves, still more ".

In his introductory chapter Mr Peck raises an interesting point of descriptive terminology. He is trying to find a single term to describe the attitude of the prevailing pietism in order to contrast it with the supernatural doctrine of grace and uses the word " supra-natural ". His meaning is clear by the context, but it is doubtful, considering the equivalence in meaning of *super* and *supra*, whether the term in itself can satisfactorily convey what he intends.

GILBERT SHAW.

SOTWELL.

SPIRITUALISM AND PSYCHICAL RESEARCH: A RELIGION AND A SCIENCE. By W. K. L. C. S.P.C.K. 4d.

There are few parochial clergy who are unaware of the very large number of spiritualist churches which are to be found in almost every town of any size. The appeal of this type of religion seems to be to the well-to-do at one end of the scale and to the rather less literate working classes at the other. It may be that these are the sections of the population least touched by

the teaching of the orthodox parts of the Church. It is said that spiritualist churches are recruited by promises made by the leaders to various individuals that there will be a message for a relative next week if such relative can be brought along to the service. This religion of spiritualism derives its appeal from human love and the affection which death cannot break, and from the desire of humanity to know things which God has in general hidden from men's eyes. As the author of this excellent little pamphlet says, they desire to walk by sight rather than by faith. There is in the Christian Creed the affirmation of our belief in the Communion of Saints, which implies the readiness of those of us who are left to commit our departed ones into the hands of God as to a loving Father, and to believe that they and we are bound together in love through our common love for Him and our abiding in His love. The traditional thought is Godward, and spiritualism as a religion tends to be manward, a distinction well brought out on pages 47 and 48.

The author draws a careful distinction between psychical research, which he calls " a peculiarly difficult branch of science " and which on the whole he views with favour, especially when it is conducted by scientists and philosophers of standing, and spiritualism, which he calls a kind of religion, and one which he says is not for Christians a legitimate method of obtaining information about the next world.

There is a brief historical summary of the development of research into the field of psychic phenomena. The point is made that primitive man may have believed that sometimes the dead come back, but they were not welcomed, and they never describe the unseen world in which they live, but only give information about people or events in our world. The author then sums up various types of phenomena which are on the whole well authenticated. Such famous names as the Wesleys, Dr Johnson, Swedenborg, and Professor Mesmer occur in his survey, and he mentions cases which all may have had in their own experience of telepathy or knowledge of events at a distance. Objective psychical experiences are distinguished from those which are subjective. Among the former are raps, lights, materializations, phantasms, haunted houses, and among the latter are automatic writing, trance speaking, clairvoyance, psychometry, precognition, dowsing, and dreams.

In spite of the proved existence of fraud, hallucination, and defective observation, one cannot say the whole of the phenomena can be explained away by these facts. W. K. L. C. feels that there is proof that something real exists, and suggests that we must trust those scientists who have given their lives to these investigations.

But towards spiritualism and its claim to be justified by the Bible and the teaching of Christ and the Apostles the author is much more hostile, while remaining perfectly fair in his

treatment of their claims. On page 27 he shows how much agreement there is between some of the basic convictions of spiritualism and those of the Church. But he shows how much they misinterpret the texts and sayings in the Bible which are adduced in their support. There is a long list of psychic phenomena drawn from both Old Testament and New Testament sources, but, as he shows on pages 30 to 36, they will bear a very different interpretation from that set on them by spiritualists. He notes especially the prophetic criticism of spiritualism, and St Paul's preference for rational utterance to " speaking with tongues ". His final view is that " the superficial resemblances to modern spiritualism found in the Bible are trivial in comparison with the immense differences ", and makes a good point in referring to Abraham's saying to Dives in the parable that no useful purpose would be served by the return of Lazarus from the dead. Nor does the Apostolic Church—for all its psychic gifts—seem to have encouraged any attempt to get in touch with the departed.

The author's conclusion is that we cannot reject the evidence for survival, but no more than survival is proved. It may simply be that as the body slowly disintegrates, so also the mind stuff may slowly dissolve. Nor do the messages received help us much; the teaching of prophets, poets and mystics will help us far more. There are eight clearly stated good reasons on page 47 why a Christian should not take up spiritualism.

This little book should be very helpful to any who have friends tempted to take up spiritualism. It does not ignore the possible truth which may come from psychical research, but it shows a better way for religion than the superficially attractive way of spiritualism. There is sure to be a rise in this attraction as the war goes on. This book may help many to keep on the road of prayer and faith as they think of their departed rather than to try the somewhat slippery slope of spiritualism. It can be warmly commended.

There is a misprint in the spelling of Mr Harry Price's name on page 11.

MARCUS KNIGHT.

NUNEATON.

ENGLISH CATHEDRAL MUSIC: FROM EDWARD VI TO EDWARD VII. By E. H. Fellowes. Methuen. 16s.

In these days of war, when so much is changing, we are appreciating more perhaps than in the calmer days of peace the value of the heritage which has been handed down to us from the past. English Church music is a part of that heritage, a valuable part. It is a glorious heritage consisting of music of the highest order. When the English Prayer Book was

introduced there was a need for music set to the English words. At first, as Dr Fellowes points out, there must have been the greatest confusion in " quires and places where they sing ". But the need was met; settings of the service and anthems were forthcoming, and the tradition has continued ever since.

In this book Dr Fellowes traces the growth of that tradition from " Edward VI to Edward VII ". He does so, as might be expected from one of his experience in Church music, with a wealth of learning and skill. We are given an account of the work of all the great composers of English Church music. And what great names they are ! Byrd, Morley, Weelkes, Gibbons, Blow, Purcell, to mention but a few. There are numerous musical illustrations from the works of these and other composers.

The account of the Restoration period makes especially good reading. Charles II was much interested in the music of his Chapel Royal. He took a great interest in the choir and increased the number of the singers. Captain Henry Cooke, a lively personality, was the master of the boys of the choir. He was given powers to conscript for his own choir any boys with good voices, powers which he used and, as can be well imagined, were not very popular with the choirmasters of the other cathedrals and collegiate chapels. Charles himself did not care for the old style of polyphonic music. He demanded something more lively, more in the French style. It was he who introduced a string band into the Chapel Royal, and so the custom grew of introducing symphonies between the verses of the anthem. The greatest interest was taken in the music of the Chapel Royal. We can imagine the keen anticipation when a new anthem by Purcell, for example, was to be sung.

It was in our cathedrals and college chapels that English Church music was nurtured and fostered. Dr Fellowes tells us that " there are some fifty establishments in this country in which the daily services continue to be rendered in accordance with the cathedral tradition as regards choral singing ". " These ", says Dr Fellowes, " should remain unimpaired in their glory." That is a plea we would urge. Even before this war there was a growing tendency to cut down the number of choral services in our cathedrals, a tendency to think that because few people attend these services they are of small importance. There has been this tendency to overstress the importance of numbers in worship, as though the value of worship was dependent on the numbers worshipping. Dr Fellowes rightly stresses that " the full choral cathedral service is an act of worship, pure and simple ". We must see that the tradition of the choral cathedral service is maintained. It is a great, worthy, and living tradition.

O. R. Clarke.

Liverpool.

SHORTER NOTICES

Some Moral Difficulties of the Bible. By H. E. Guillebaud. Inter-Varsity Fellowship. 3s. 6d.

The Things that Make a Man. By Sidney Dark. Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1s.

The Secrets of Fortitude. By Bishop A. F. Winnington Ingram. Longmans. 2s. 6d.

Revelation and Inspiration. By B. B. Warfield. Inter-Varsity Fellowship. 6d.

The Origin and Meaning of the Lord's Teaching on Prayer. By J. O. F. Murray. Central Readers' Board. 6d.

Archdeacon Guillebaud's posthumous work on some moral difficulties of the Bible is especially addressed to the " Christian who accepts, as the writer does, the full authority and inspiration of the Bible as the Word of God ". The strength and value of the author's arguments arise indeed from his acceptance of this position; for he is always compelled, by his fundamental assumptions, to grapple with each difficulty in its most acute form.

He never allows himself to be rescued from any situation by such theories of progressive revelation as might impair the full authority and inspiration of Holy Scripture. He cannot, for example, suggest that Uzzah died of shock or strain when trying to steady the ark; but he struggles with the formidable story in the serious and strenuous spirit of a seventeenth-century divine.

The author makes good use of the New Testament in dealing with the difficulties which meet him in the Old Testament. He points out that our Lord was familiar with the Jewish Scriptures, and used them in His teaching, recognizing them as the Word of God, in spite of the moral difficulties which they contain. Also, a reference in the New Testament to a difficult passage in the Old Testament may sometimes help to remove the difficulty; the writer of Hebrews, for example, refers to Abraham's offering of Isaac (Heb. xi, 17-19), and, in his comments, goes far to alleviate the moral pain which many feel when they read the original story in the Book of Genesis.

Some moral difficulties in the Bible cannot be removed by any elucidation of the text, but in that they are special cases of evil and suffering they partake of the general difficulties inherent in the existence of evil and suffering of any kind whatever. To deal with these cases, the opening chapters of the book are devoted to these general questions.

The Things that Make a Man contains an elaboration of six wireless talks by Sidney Dark on Courage, Persistence, Truth, Faith, Hope, and Charity. They abound in happy quotations.

The Secrets of Fortitude contains the substance of talks given by the former Bishop of London to troops around Bournemouth and to civilians in other parts of the country. It is a cheerful book written in the cheerful belief that we are fighting for " all that God loves against all that God hates ". This conviction, together with a simple faith in the United States, leads to the certainty of victory. The book is seasoned with anecdotes and dedicated to the Prime Minister.

Revelation and Inspiration is an abridgment of certain monographs by the late Professor Warfield, an American theologian, hailed in the introduction as the author of " one of the very finest expositions of the doctrine of the infallibility of Holy Scripture that has appeared in modern times ".

The Origin and Meaning of the Lord's Teaching in Prayer shows how the Lord's Prayer arose out of His own spiritual experience; the careful analysis of each clause, and the reference of it to the background of our Lord's own life, will help many readers to find a new meaning and interest in prayer.

A. C. SCUPHOLME.

UGTHORPE.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(*Mention here neither implies nor precludes subsequent comment.*)

BRITISH ACADEMY: T. R. Glover, *The Mind of St Paul* (2s.).

CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA: G. E. DeMille, *The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church* ($2.50).

C.L.A.: *Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, The Meaning of Salvation* (2d. each); *Common Prayers in Time of War* (1s.).

HODDER AND STOUGHTON: J. Kennedy, *Towards a Theocracy* (6s.).

LONGMANS: F. A. Cockin, *Three Men and a Parson* (1s.).

MOWBRAY: B. Frost, *In His Image* (8s. 6d.).

NISBET: R. Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, Vol. I. (15s.); H. H. Farmer, *The Servant of the Word* (6s.).

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS: G. Richards, *Housman*, 1897-1936 (21s.); H. Keyserling, *Immortality* (5s.).

S.C.M. PRESS: H. Vogel, *The Iron Ration of a Christian* (6s.); R. H. Strachan, *The Fourth Gospel* (10s. 6d.).

SHELDON PRESS: E. G. Rupp, *Is this a Christian Country?* (1s. 6d.).

S.P.C.K.: A. C. Buchanan, *In Six Days* (2s.); H. C. Libbey, *Those Vital Years* (1s. 6d.).

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